

✧ THE CHURCH ✧
AND
THE IMMIGRANT

GEORGIA E. HARKNESS

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THE IMMIGRANT

GEORGIA E. HARKNESS

THE CHURCH AND THE IMMIGRANT

BY

GEORGIA E. HARKNESS

INSTRUCTOR IN BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF RELIGIOUS
EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

G. W. TUPPER, Ph.D., LL.B.

AUTHOR OF "FOREIGN-BORN NEIGHBORS," ETC.



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TO
OUR BROTHERS
THE NEW AMERICANS

2550.

INTRODUCTION

The rising tide of democracy, which bore thousands of our choicest young men to Old World battlefields, has slowly crept over the peace-flats of everyday American life. To-day the thrill of self-government and community responsibility summons recruits from all forward-looking young patriots in busy marts and remote hamlets. Many responses to this summons have already come from aggressive members of our Christian churches. Other responses will swell the quota of those who would serve. And Truth's searchlight, sweeping on its militant way, will reveal new community needs and demand a greater army of workers. To all these recruits for Christian democracy come two important questions,—In what field shall I work? What shall I do?

Both of these questions are briefly but definitely answered by Miss Georgia E. Harkness in her admirable little book, entitled *The Church and the Immigrant*. In her courses at the School of Religious Education and Social Service at Boston University Miss Harkness found that many of those who were impelled to serve the cause of democracy were drawn toward the large groups of foreign-born neighbors in New England and other industrial centers. But she also found that many of these recruits realized their helplessness as they invaded this great unknown realm where Old World

backgrounds, race psychology and myriad languages loomed large.

This book is the result of this discovery. It is intended to help the beginner. It presents simple, workable plans. It paves the way to extended information. Through simple language which breathes a spirit of genuine helpfulness, the reader is encouraged to invade the unknown realm of the foreign-born with a growing certainty that the information given will open the doors to practical service.

This book should be in the hands of every young churchman who wishes to serve the cause of democracy in his own community.

G. W. TUPPER.

PREFACE

The church of to-day is facing a strategic and perilous situation. It is confronted on every hand by the socio-economic interest, and in the face of the urgent claims of society for recognition of its rights the church must carefully and prayerfully choose its course.

In response to this situation we find signs of greatest promise. The church is valiantly taking up the task presented by an unprecedented situation, and the social gospel is being preached to-day as never before. Not only are men being exhorted by the churches to love their neighbors as themselves, but practical means are being instituted whereby to minister to the manifold needs of men. The future is most hopeful.

But with this encouraging new emphasis upon the social gospel there comes a danger—the danger that Christianity may become secularized and may lose somewhat its note of individual redemption. It ought not, and it need not. It is with the firm belief that there is no necessary conflict between the spiritual message and the social gospel of Christianity that the suggestions of the following pages are presented.

Among the manifold opportunities for social service which are presented to the church, there is none more significant than that occasioned by the presence of the immigrant. It is the purpose of this little book to furnish a concise statement of the immigration situation in its

general outlines, and to suggest some practical means by which the church may be helpful to the new Americans. If it shall serve in some measure to bring the church and the immigrant into more harmonious fellowship, its author will be well-content.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. George W. Tupper for kindly reading the manuscript and writing the introduction; and to Professor Walter S. Athearn and Professor Charles E. Carroll of Boston University for their encouraging interest and many valuable suggestions.

GEORGIA E. HARKNESS.

Boston University.

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THE CHURCH AND
THE IMMIGRANT

THE CHURCH AND THE IMMIGRANT

Chapter I

THE IMMIGRANT IN EUROPE

I. THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH

challenge confronts the Christian churches of Amer-

About us are the hosts of those who yearly seek our shores from other lands. Whether immigration brings to America a grave menace or a glorious opportunity must be determined by the constructive forces of American life, and in this action the Christian church if it fail not in its mission must have a vital part. How are we to minister to the needs of this stranger within our gates?

The attitude of the American people toward the immigrant has been too often an attitude of neglect. We turn aside our skirts for fear of defilement, and we leave the immigrant to shift for himself. We have applied to him unpleasant epithets, and have frequently placed upon his shoulders the blame for all our present social and industrial unrest. If we have permitted him to be the victim of exploitation and greed, if we have denied him the opportunities for education and Americanization that are his due, can we wonder that he some day pays us back in our own coin?

In this attitude of neglect the church has not been guiltless. We have preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, and we have pointed to the example of our Great Brother who went about doing good even to those of a race not His own. But have we caught the real spirit of brotherhood, and have we put it into action? To some extent we have, for the church to-day is reaching out a helping hand. But all too often we have permitted the immigrant to fall among thieves, and then like the priest and the Levite we have passed by on the other side.

In the following pages we shall consider the principal European and American backgrounds of the immigration situation, and shall attempt to indicate some of the ways in which the church may help to meet the situation.

II. TYPES OF IMMIGRATION

Before attempting an analysis of the immigration situation as it exists in the United States, we shall look briefly into the sources from which our immigration springs. Of the fifty-six different nationalities reported in our Federal immigration statistics, by far the larger part have come to us from Europe. While the importance of Oriental and Mexican immigration is recognized, it will be impossible here to discuss all types. The principal European backgrounds have been selected for study because of the predominance of immigration from these countries.

It must be recognized that there are two distinct types of European immigration. From 1820, when records began to be kept by the United States, until about 1880, by far the largest part of our immigration was from the

northwestern section of Europe; while in more recent years it has been very largely from the southeastern part. The old immigration thus included primarily the English, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians; whereas the new immigration is made up of a conglomerate of races among which the immigrants from Italy, Austria, Poland and Russia stand out most prominently.

In the early days the immigrants who came to us were quite similar to the people of the United States in physique, mental characteristics, mode of living and social inheritance. In those times there was no "immigrant problem" of any seriousness, for our country welcomed them freely and assimilated them without difficulty. But gradually the old immigration from the more advanced nations decreased, while the new immigration from the more backward countries rapidly increased in numbers until in 1907 it reached the high water mark of 1,285,349.¹ Although immigration was interrupted during the war, it is now being resumed. These throngs of peasants from the less developed countries of Europe have brought with them racial characteristics and ideals which differ widely from our own.

The attitude we have adopted toward the new immigration has varied as widely as the American temperament. Many have churlishly advocated the exclusion of all immigrants for the benefit of the American workman. Others, moved by sentiment rather than sense, have urged us to open wide the doors and take in everybody. The terms of entry which we may rightfully impose upon the immigrant, like the limitations to the personal liberty of our own citizens, are determined by the requirements of public safety, public health, and public

¹ Report of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

order. The American government has generally maintained toward the exclusion of undesirables a sane attitude which the church will do well to support. But whatever the future policy may be, the immigrant of the newer type is here. If we do not like him as he is, we must make him over in the light of our finest American and Christian ideals.

The bulk of our immigration is Italian, Slavic and Jewish. Hence, a study of these leading types will indicate in a general way the European situation which has given rise to the new immigration. The political, economic, social, educational, and religious backgrounds of these peoples must be considered, for we cannot wisely prescribe the remedy for the so-called "immigration malady" until we have diagnosed the case.

III. ITALIAN BACKGROUNDS

Italy has been the leading contributor to both our permanent and temporary immigration. Many families, and even whole villages, have migrated *en masse* to America, and we have also received large numbers of wage-earning men coming without their families and expecting to return to Italy. This situation is significant not only because of the influence of Italy upon our country, but also because of the reflex influence of American ideals upon Italy.

There are two distinct types of Italian immigration, which differ so widely that they are listed separately in our Federal statistics. The North Italian is generally an educated, skilled artisan, while the South Italian is more often an illiterate peasant. The bulk of our Italian

immigration is from southern Italy, and for this reason we shall consider principally the latter type.

From a *political* standpoint, the South Italian has slight representation in governmental affairs, since he is generally unable to meet the property qualifications which are required of voters. He must submit to his lot, or leave it.

However, the dominant motive of Italian emigration is not political but *economic* oppression. Landlordism is the curse of southern Italy. The land is owned almost entirely by wealthy noblemen, who let it out to tenant farmers at exorbitant rents. The rich largely escape taxation, which is levied principally on articles of consumption. The wages of all classes are very low, and this is especially true of the agricultural laborer. The standard of living is lower than in the United States, but taxes and food claim a much larger proportion of the meager income.

Military expenditures are a great drain on the resources of the people. In addition to the expense entailed by the army and navy, the compulsory military service which is required of every able-bodied peasant interferes materially with production.

Over-population has also caused economic distress and has led to emigration. The birth-rate, as in this country, is generally highest where poverty and illiteracy are greatest.

Illiteracy is slight in northern Europe, where education is free and school attendance compulsory; but it is much higher in the south which on the whole is less progressive.

Religious motives have little, if any, influence upon Italian emigration. While freedom of worship is allowed, the Roman Catholic Church predominates, at least in name. But its hold over the people is loosening mate-

rially. Its adherents no longer pay wholly without question the excessive contributions which it exacts, nor do they submit in absolute obedience to the arbitrary demands of the priesthood. The Protestants of Italy are not numerous, but growing discontent with the conditions imposed by the Roman church is leaving many with no religious anchor. Many of the leading citizens of Rome are sending their children to schools conducted by Protestant missions, because attracted by the superior type of instruction which is given. Our aim in Italy, as in America, must be to minister to the vital needs of a spiritually neglected people.

IV. SLAVIC BACKGROUNDS

Our Slavic immigration is derived mainly from central and eastern Europe (including primarily the territory occupied by Austria-Hungary before the war) and from Russia. As conditions vary somewhat in these sections they will be discussed separately.

I. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. The underlying feature of our immigration from Austria and surrounding states is *racial diversity*. Here we have a congeries of many diverse and hostile nationalities, among which the Poles are the leading contributors to our immigration. Not only do we find among the Slavs decided diversity in language and racial characteristics, but people of the same tongue and racial stock are further divided in spirit by religious and political differences. These discordant elements have failed to assimilate in spite of close proximity. As a result of this long-standing turmoil, racial animosities have been brought over

by the immigrants to American, and it is not surprising that we find among them many factions and feuds.

The war has tended in some measure to unite those Slavic peoples who were fighting in a common cause, but it has increased the bitterness of those who fought on opposite sides. The hardships imposed by the war, together with dissatisfaction at the territorial lines established by the Peace Conference, have added to the general discontent and will probably lead to accelerated emigration.

The Slavs have suffered much *political* oppression at the hands of the Magyars, or Hungarians. The overbearing policy of the latter has bred much discontent, and their unsuccessful attempt to assimilate the Slovaks by force is a striking example of the futility of any attempt to make over a people by compulsion. The resulting spirit of resistance stirred up among the Slavs has been largely fostered by returned immigrants, who have imbibed American ideals of political freedom.

Economic, as well as political, oppression has caused many to seek refuge from adversity in America. A large percentage of these are peasant farmers. Although rather antiquated methods of agriculture are employed, intensive cultivation is an economic necessity and the Slavic peasants usually make good farmers when transferred to our rural districts. The peasant in Europe has a higher social standing than the common laborer, and he resents being treated as an inferior in this country. It is not true that we receive the "scum of the earth," for the so-called "scum" seldom has the ambition to emigrate.

The *religion* of most of our Slavic immigrants is either Greek or Roman Catholic. Both churches tended to

foster ecclesiasticism at the expense of individuality, and in general we find their adherents superstitious, devout and attached to their churches. But when they reach America they are likely to drift away from the old faith and become agnostics. Herein lies the necessity of furnishing a Protestant Christian environment.

To fully understand the religious viewpoint of these people, it is necessary to realize that to them "Church" and "Christianity" always have a political connotation. They are likely to become anti-clerical as soon as they feel themselves no longer in the grip of ecclesiastical authority, and this revolt is apt to be directed not simply against priestcraft, but against established authority in general. It is no mere accident that Radical Socialists are so often hostile to the church; it is the direct result of the reaction from ecclesiasticism. If we are to hold them steady, we must show them a church with a vital social message.

2. RUSSIA. Interest in Russian immigration has greatly increased within recent years because of the spread of Bolshevism in the United States. Although not all the "Reds" have come from Russia, it is true that the origin of much anarchistic propaganda may be traced to this unfortunate country.

The attitude of the church toward Bolshevism is almost entirely one of hostility. Doubtless this attitude is justified. Surely we must not foster in our country any "hydra-headed monster," which will undermine the foundations of our government. But there is a vast difference between hating Bolshevism and hating the Bolsheviks, and before passing judgment too harshly we need to consider the facts which have brought it into existence.

The political situation in Russia to-day may best be characterized as chaos. This chaos is the direct outgrowth of political, economic, and industrial oppression. The Russian serf has been kept in subjection for centuries and now, in the language of the old proverb, the worm has turned. The domination of a despotic government and its attempt to crush out all freedom of thought and speech by imprisonment and often by exile has at last borne its fruit.

The Russian peasant has been kept in poverty, ignorance and spiritual blindness. Only recently has he progressed sufficiently to be able to rebel, or to catch the fever of migration. The Greek Orthodox Church has spent its energy in persecuting those of a different faith, and has failed utterly in giving any spiritual message to its people. Hence it is not surprising that when the "slumbering giant" of Russian serfdom has found the opportunity to throw off its shackles, it has lacked the controlling influence of education and religion, and has run wild.

The life of Madame Catherine Breshkovski, "the little grandmother of the Russian revolution,"¹ throws light upon the Russian situation. Although the daughter of a Russian nobleman, she cast in her lot with the peasant class. More than half her life has been spent in imprisonment or exile because of her efforts to secure justice for the downtrodden. But she has avoided using methods of anarchy and violence, and much of the sound element in the Russian revolution is traceable to her influence. She holds that the only permanent solution of the Russian situation lies in furnishing opportunities for universal education and social justice.

¹ Blackwell, Alice S., *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution*.

The duty of the Christian church, at least in principle, is plain. If we are to stop the spread of violence both in Russia and America we must put something better in its place. Only through the formative influence of a vital Christianity which ministers to the whole life of man can this be accomplished.

V. JEWISH BACKGROUNDS

The volume of our Jewish immigration is exceeded only by that of the Italians and Poles; and it surpasses that of the Poles in net increase because of its more permanent character.

The Jews are now the only people in Europe who come to us in large numbers because of religious persecution. The antipathy with which the Jews are regarded is partly economic, as well as racial and religious, and may be traced back to the Middle Ages when money-lending fell into their hands because it was forbidden to Christians. The Jews through their occupations as merchants and money-lenders have been the immediate agents in much of the poverty which has actually been due to wretched political, social and economic organization. Hence it is not surprising that the Jew has often been regarded as the source of all evils.¹

The history of Europe, and especially of Russia, has been full of anti-Semitic riots and unjust legislation. Russian Jews have been obliged to live apart from others in a Pale of Settlement, very much over-populated because of inability to live outside of it in safety. But even here they have not been entirely free from persecution. "Pogroms" or bitter uprisings against the Jews

¹ Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, p. 140.

have caused much suffering and have bred much discontent.¹

A proposed solution of these difficulties is the Zionist movement, which aims to restore Palestine to the Jews as a national home. But Palestine is economically incapable of supporting more than one-fourth of the Jewish race. While the advocates of the movement generally recognize the fact that only a comparatively small percentage of the race would be likely to return to Palestine, they desire to make it a political center so that the Jew may no longer be without a country. However, serious difficulties stand in the way of the project, for if it were attempted religious friction and political entanglements with Syria would inevitably result. Moslems as well as Jews claim Palestine as their home, and most of the non-Jewish population are strongly opposed to the plan. Many Jewish leaders believe that what the Jew needs is not a separate country, but equality of opportunity in every country.

The fact that the Jews have maintained their identity and have prospered through centuries of bitter persecution bears witness to their energy and intelligence. Much of the power of the Jewish people is traceable to their devotion to religion and their interest in education. Jewish parents frequently deny themselves food and other necessities of life in order to keep their children in school.² In the intellectual pursuits of European nations for the past thousand years the Jews have played a prominent part.

Interest in education is increasing among the Jews as new opportunities develop, but the Jew is falling away

¹ Antin, Mary, *The Promised Land*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.* *They Who Knock at Our Gates*, p. 46.

from his old religious faith. The economic situation makes it practically impossible for him to observe the Jewish Sabbath, and many are unable to restrict their diet wholly to "kosher" food. Only a few are able to give up the traditional elements of their religion and make the transition to twentieth century modes of thought and living without losing the spiritual elements of Judaism.

The Jewish church of to-day is of three types, the Orthodox, the Conservative, and the Reformed.¹ The first two hold to the Old Testament regulations and aim strictly to obey the law, but differ in their interpretation of the Scriptures. Those of the Reformed element believe that Judaism is plastic and should be shaped to accord with the times and country in which they live. The latter type is most susceptible to Christian influence, and offers the church a great opportunity for service.

From a study of conditions which lead to Italian, Slavic and Jewish immigration, we may draw some general conclusions. We find everywhere in southern and eastern Europe a crushing economic burden, frequently joined with political oppression, from which the only escape seems emigration. We find also a general lack of educational opportunities and of vital religious influences. The situation lays upon the Christian churches of America the task of uplifting and spiritualizing the ideals of those who seek our shores.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

1. Distinguish between the old and the new immigration.
2. What present-day conditions make the immigration situation more acute than formerly?

¹ Roberts, Peter, *Immigrant Races in North America*, p. 71.

3. Discuss the causes of Italian immigration. What factor is most influential?

4. How does the religious situation in Italy affect the problems of Protestant churches in America?

5. Discuss the effect of racial diversity among the Slavs upon political and social conditions (a) in Europe; (b) in America.

6. State the principal changes in the map of Europe occasioned by the war. Suggest the probable effect upon emigration.

7. In what respects is emigration a selective process?

8. What is the foundation of the anti-religious attitude which generally characterizes Radical Socialism?

9. Describe the Russian backgrounds of Bolshevism.

10. Discuss the causes and results of anti-Jewish propaganda. If possible, cite specific instances.

11. Do you favor the Zionist movement? Why or why not?

12. What factors have enabled the Jews to maintain their identity without a separate country?

13. In what respects do the conditions of modern life affect the religion of the Jews?

14. What general inferences are suggested by your study of European backgrounds?

Chapter II

THE IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA

I. CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION

1. UNDERLYING CAUSES. A study of the European backgrounds from which our immigration is chiefly drawn has revealed the fact that the dominant motive underlying migration is economic. In some sections, political and religious factors enter in, but in general the immigrant comes to our shores because he expects to be able here to make more money. The close connection between immigration and economic conditions in the United States is shown by the fact that in our periods of industrial depression immigration has fallen off, and in our periods of prosperity it has risen accordingly.¹

2. IMMEDIATE CAUSES. In addition to the underlying causes which have already been discussed, there are also certain immediate agencies which give the direct stimulus to migration. These are the former immigrant, the steamship company, and the labor agent.

(a) *The Former Immigrant.* Doubtless the most potent incentive to emigration is the influence of friends and relatives who have previously gone to America. This may come in the form of letters which give glowing accounts of the charms of America, or it may arise from the prestige attached to the returned immigrant. When

¹ Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, p. 145.

a letter from America is received it usually goes the rounds of the whole village and causes great excitement. The money it contains makes our country seem a veritable El Dorado. Former immigrants often send for their families, or return to get them. When the returning immigrant comes back to his native village, well-dressed and prosperous, he is a great personage in the eyes of his old acquaintances. The fever of emigration, once started, is likely to carry away the whole village.

The fact that the former immigrant tells nothing of the rebuffs and hard times which he meets in America is due to a natural tendency to exaggerate the success of one's venture. Personal vanity and friendly interest, rather than intentional deception, are responsible for the brightness of the picture. But undoubtedly there is a sad disillusionment for many who find when they reach America that they cannot pick up gold dollars everywhere in the streets.

(b) *The Steamship Company.* In the solicitation of immigration by the steamship companies, the credulous peasant is made the victim of exploitation for the sake of profit.¹ Since the occupant of the steerage puts up with coarse food, overcrowding, dirt, and the lack of other conveniences and comforts, the outlay of the company is slight in comparison with the passage money which is paid. Hence the companies employ hundreds of agents who travel among the peasants of southern and eastern Europe and incite in them the fever of migration. By telling glowing tales of marvelous opportunities in America and by promising to look after the immigrants during the trip, they easily induce thousands to take passage to the land of wealth and freedom.

¹ Fairchild, H. P., *Immigration*, p. 148.

Since deported aliens must be carried back free of charge, the steamship company gives a preliminary examination at the port of embarkation, which doubtless serves to restrain many from making the long journey in vain. But other methods employed are less commendable. Sometimes instruction in lying is given to teach the immigrants how to get past the inspection officers at the port of entry. Sometimes those known to have trachoma are treated in such a way that its outward symptoms temporarily disappear. Sometimes those returned are deposited far from their homes to keep them from reducing the profits of the company by quelling the ardor of their neighbors.¹

A law of the United States² forbids this solicitation of immigration by steamship companies, but the law is exceedingly hard to enforce. Most of the agents do not operate officially, but in the guise of private individuals, in order to give their solicitation the appearance of friendly interest. Moreover, it is hard to enforce any law in a foreign country remote from the United States. Hence this law is constantly and flagrantly violated.

(c) *The Labor Agent.* Like the steamship agent, the labor agent operates illegally but extensively. The law forbidding the importation of contract labor is designed to protect the American workman from undercutting in wages. It is difficult to determine to what extent the law is violated, but it is quite certain that the majority of immigrants know before they arrive where they are to receive employment. Sometimes the promise comes in the form of a "tip" from a friend or relative previously employed, and in this form it is not especially

¹ Brandenburg, Broughton, *Imported Americans*, p. 39.

² Act of Feb. 5, 1917, Section 7.

reprehensible. But other means of evading the law are practiced. Sometimes an employer, through an immigrant bank, sends to Europe for a consignment of laborers. These are met at the port of entry by a representative of the bank posing as a relative, and the men are given employment while the bank receives a generous commission taken from their wages. Sometimes the employer, in open violation of the law, sends directly to Europe to recruit the workmen needed to break a strike.

The effects of this policy were illustrated recently in a serious textile strike. Those who occasioned it were principally foreigners who were brought to America a few years ago to break a previous strike. They came under misrepresentation, deceived by alluring promises and fictitious posters of men in America carrying bags of money on their backs. Then when occasion arose, they united and struck for what they considered their rights.

3. THE TASK OF THE CHURCH IN ELIMINATING FALSE INDUCEMENTS. Whatever may be the attitude of the church regarding the desirability of immigration, it surely has its part to play in preventing immigrants from coming under false pretenses. As it touches those who are already here, it can impress upon them the disastrous consequences of exaggerating America's charm and raising too high the hopes of their friends and relatives. The church through its European representatives and constituency can help to restrict and counteract the influence of the steamship agent. In this country, it can help to establish such an attitude of coöperation between employer and employee that strike-breaking will be unnecessary, and it can help to put a genuine welcome in place of the doubtful service rendered by the immigrant bank. Much valuable assistance may be given in helping the

immigrant to make a proper vocational adjustment. Some representatives of the church, in their zeal to help the immigrant, have violated the contract labor law. Here, as elsewhere, consecrated common sense must determine the character of the service rendered.

II. DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRATION

One of the greatest evils attending immigration is the congestion of newly arrived immigrants in our great cities. The assimilation of the immigrant, his relation to the American wage-earner, the questions of crime, pauperism, disease, standard of living, morality, education—all are directly dependent upon distribution.

I. NATURE OF DISTRIBUTION. In geographical distribution we find the immigrants flocking to the most thickly populated sections of the United States. They settle principally in the North Atlantic and North Central states, which have a density of population far above the average. A map prepared by Peter Roberts indicates the fact that a line drawn from Atlantic City to southeastern Illinois and then to northwestern Minnesota would take in five-sixths of the new immigration. Although the great majority of those who come were engaged in agriculture in Europe, they tend here to congregate in cities about mining and manufacturing centers. In over twenty of our great cities, the foreign-born constitute more than half the population, while in New York, Chicago, Boston and Cleveland about three-fourths are foreign.

There are two general types of immigrant communities: (1) the foreign-speaking districts of industrial cities established before the coming of the recent immigration;

(2) communities almost wholly of foreign extraction which have grown up about mines or industrial plants. In either case we have congestion and segregation, with their attendant evils.

2. CAUSES OF CONGESTION AND SEGREGATION. These two aspects of improper distribution usually exist together, and arise from related, though not identical factors.

Immigrants tend to congregate in cities for the following reasons: (1) The immigrant usually lands at a city and the path of least resistance leads him to remain there. (2) Economic opportunities are more abundant and varied in the city than in the country, and the occupations available require less capital. Since many arrive with so little money that they must secure work immediately, and others wish to earn as much as possible in a limited time in order to return, the economic factor is very influential. (3) In the city, the immigrant can live in close proximity to those of his own race, and knowledge of English is less essential. (4) Assistance from friends and public relief agencies is more available. (5) The excitement and novelty of city life attracts the immigrant, just as it does the native born.

The tendency to segregation in foreign-speaking districts or colonies is traceable to several causes: (1) the natural desire to live among those of the same language, the same race, and the same religion; (2) the influence of their religious leaders who desire to strengthen their churches by preserving denominational and racial separateness; (3) the lower cost of living among those having the same standards; (4) the race prejudice and aversion of native Americans, who refuse to live in the same section with foreigners.

3. RESULTS OF CONGESTION AND SEGREGATION. The most serious results of improper distribution are found in lack of assimilation, in labor difficulties, and in bad housing conditions.

(a) *Lack of Assimilation.* When the immigrant associates only with those of his own race, he has little opportunity to learn the ways and catch the spirit of Americanism. The natural tendency is to speak only his own language, and there is little inducement to learn to speak English. His religious leaders encourage denominational and racial separateness, and whenever possible insist upon the children's attending parochial schools.¹ These influences retard the process of Americanization and foster an anti-democratic spirit. Racial cleavage is accentuated and Old World animosities are retained.

The foreign sections in our cities are not American, but neither are they European. Too often the immigrant gives up the traditions and ideals of the old country without acquiring those of the new; for try as he may, it is impossible in our American environment to reproduce the setting of the land from which he came.

(b) *Labor Difficulties.* The tendency of immigrants to congregate in mining and manufacturing centers brings them into sharp conflict with American workmen. Owing to a lower standard of living, the newly arrived immigrant works for lower wages, and this undercutting makes the antipathy acute. Labor unions aid assimilation, but not many of the recently arrived immigrants join the unions, unless obliged to do so to get work.²

¹ Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 270 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Segregation, by fostering mutual misunderstandings, intensifies the bitterness aroused by industrial conflicts.

(c) *Housing Conditions.* Overcrowding is found everywhere throughout the foreign colonies. The desire to "get rich quick" not only keeps down the standard of living, but it also leads extensively to the taking of boarders and lodgers. The resulting lack of sanitation and privacy is harmful to health and morals. Lack of a suitable place for recreation and social intercourse leads to juvenile delinquency and moral downfall. The children often grow away from their parents, as they come to realize through American influences that their overcrowded, unsanitary homes are not fit places in which to live.

4. THE TASK OF THE CHURCH IN PROMOTING PROPER DISTRIBUTION. It may seem preferable for the church to strive to correct the evils of the present situation rather than to attempt redistribution. In general it must serve the immigrant where it finds him; yet the task of directing him to other fields is not entirely a hopeless one.

The church must help to protect and direct the immigrant upon his arrival. At present, representatives of various denominations give assistance at the ports of entry to those who are not met by friends, and frequently take them to immigrant homes to stay a few days until friends are located or employment secured. Beyond question, valuable service is thus rendered, especially to immigrant girls. However, this type of service as now conducted is inadequate and should be greatly extended.

The church has not yet gone far enough in directing the immigrant to the place which he should fill. In institutional churches at every port of entry vocational

bureaus should be maintained with skilled psychologists to determine what the immigrant is best fitted to do, with investigators to look into places of employment which may be recommended, and with social workers to keep in touch with the immigrant and see that he is surrounded by proper influences. If this work is done by other agencies, the church need not compete, but it must insist that the work be done.

The church should coöperate with the government in drawing the immigrants to the farms. While our cities are overcrowded, there is great dearth of farm labor. The immigrant by his previous experience is well fitted for agricultural work. By presenting to the immigrant the opportunities available in rural districts, the church can help to put him in a more healthful environment and reduce the congestion in the cities. The church in the rural districts should endeavor to overcome the race prejudice which leads many farmers to be suspicious of immigrant labor.

The church should help to counteract the evil effects of congestion and segregation. Above all, the church in its manifold activities must help to break down the barrier of separateness, which keeps apart the native from the foreign-born and retards both Americanization and evangelization.

III. CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE IMMIGRANT TO AMERICAN LIFE

The immigrant doubtless owes much to America, but we are prone to forget that the obligation is mutual. What we receive in the steerage is not the refuse, but the bone and sinew of all the nations. The same pioneer

spirit which actuated the Pilgrim Fathers has led the more venturesome to America, and as the immigrant builds for himself a home he likewise helps to build the foundations of American life.

I. INDUSTRY. The industrial debt which we owe to the immigrant has been stated thus by Frederick Haskin,¹

"I am the immigrant.

I have shouldered my burden as the American man-of-all-work.

I contribute eighty-five per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries.

I do seven-tenths of the bituminous coal mining.

I do seventy-eight per cent of all the work in the woolen mills.

I contribute nine-tenths of all the labor in the cotton mills.

I make nineteen-twentieths of all the clothing.

I manufacture more than half the shoes.

I build four-fifths of all the furniture.

I make half of the collars, cuffs, and shirts.

I turn out four-fifths of all the leather.

I make half the gloves.

I refine nearly nineteen-twentieths of the sugar.

I make half of the tobacco and cigars.

And yet, I am the great American problem."

Wherever the immigrant has gone he has formed the backbone of industry. He engages in the dangerous and dirty occupations, and as he takes the hard, unpleasant jobs the American workman moves up to a higher position in the industrial scale. Without immigrant labor, the marvelous industrial expansion of America would have been impossible.

2. PATRIOTISM. Among the various factors which "won the war," the share of the immigrant must not be overlooked. Eighty per cent of the labor employed in the shipyards was foreign; while immigrant labor pro-

¹ Haskin, F. J., *The Immigrant*, pp. 123-124.

cured most of the wood and steel needed for the ships. Without the immigrant, the railroads would have been practically helpless; and adequate food, clothing, and munitions could not have been produced.

But it is not merely in industrial lines that the immigrants helped to win the war. They contributed generously to every Liberty Loan, and with few exceptions were in sympathy with the cause for which we fought. Furthermore, thousands of America's foreign-born went bravely and cheerfully to lay down their lives for the country of their adoption. Every honor roll is sprinkled with foreign names.

On the whole, the immigrant is loyal to America in peace as in war. Much apprehension has been aroused by some evidences of growing disloyalty, and this attitude has led to undue suspicion. Although this alarm is not entirely ungrounded, a small amount of anti-American sentiment has caused much comment, while the great preponderance of loyal Americanism has too often passed unnoticed.

3. ART. Among the arts, especially music, our immigrant races stand preëminent. Galli-Curci, Schumann-Heink, Caruso, Kreisler, and many others of the world's greatest musical geniuses bear foreign names. In fact, an American singer who aspires to be a prima donna pays tribute to the immigrant races by borrowing a name from the steerage lists.¹ Great musicians of foreign birth may not, perhaps, be termed "immigrants," but the same passionate love of music is characteristic of their countrymen who move among us in a humbler sphere. The immigrants from southern and eastern Europe belong to artistic, beauty-loving peoples with a great

¹ Antin, Mary, *They Who Knock at Our Gates*, p. 53.

heritage from the past, and when given an opportunity to develop their talents they contribute largely to American art.

4. **INTELLECTUAL LIFE.** While the immigrant who comes in adult life is seldom well-educated, he wants his children to have what he lacks. The records of our schools bear witness to the intellectual hunger and mental capacity of the children of immigrants; while the Lower East Side has been termed the "intellectual capital" of New York because of the number and nature of the books drawn from its libraries by its Jewish population. Such names as those of Jacob Riis, Edward A. Steiner, and Mary Antin are suggestive of the contributions of our immigrant races to the intellectual life of America.

5. **THE TASK OF THE CHURCH IN DEVELOPING APPRECIATION.** It is the duty of the church to help cultivate a proper appreciation of the immigrant. For this reason it is necessary to discourage the use of nicknames and unpleasant epithets. Even the word "foreigner" has come to have such unfavorable connotations that it is preferably avoided. The terms "new Americans" and "coming Americans" are being substituted by many who wish to suggest a more brotherly attitude.

Much of the prejudice felt by native Americans is based on ignorance and might be dispelled by a presentation of the value of the work done by the immigrant. On the other hand, people must be led to see that the immigrant is not a machine, but that he has value in himself rather than merely in what he does. Then there will be less indifference to industrial accidents and abuses.

The church should defend the immigrant from unjust criticism and help to counteract the antipathy aroused by exaggerated accounts of anti-American propaganda. It

should show its constituency that the great majority of our foreign-born are loyal to America, and that it is impossible to inculcate loyalty in the remainder by methods of force and hatred.

If our churches are to be attractive to the immigrant, we must appeal to his love of beauty by the use of the best music, pictures, and architecture. Those who in Europe have associated religion with beautiful churches will not be greatly attracted in this country by ugly, two-by-four missions.

The church must stimulate the intellectual hunger of the foreign-born youth, and must make sure that facilities are open to them for gratifying it. Scholarships for Christian education as leaders of their own people are a good investment. The church must also inculcate a higher ideal of service in the use of their intellectual attainments.

We have seen that in the influences which bring the immigrant to America, in the factors which affect his distribution, and in the contribution he is making to American life, the immigrant is worthy of our sympathetic interest. In each of these fields the church has a task to perform if it is awake to its opportunity and true to its responsibility.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. Discuss the underlying causes of immigration. Trace their relation to European backgrounds and to American conditions.
2. Discuss the principal immediate inducements to immigration. What elements of right and wrong are involved in each?
3. What serious practical problems are created by false inducements?
4. Suggest ways in which the churches of your community may help to eliminate false inducements.

5. What important immigration problems are directly dependent upon distribution? Suggest the relation in each case.

6. Indicate on a map the general distribution of immigration. Trace its relation to the industries of the congested sections.

7. Why do immigrants tend to congregate in cities?

8. Are there any colonies of foreign-speaking people in your community? If so, why do they not mix with native Americans?

9. Discuss the principal results of congestion and segregation.

10. In what ways may proper distribution be promoted (a) by the ordinary local church; (b) by the institutional church?

11. Do you consider immigrant labor indispensable to American industry? Why or why not?

12. Make a list of distinguished contributors to American life (not mentioned in the text) who have belonged to the immigrant races.

13. Cite evidences of the loyalty of the immigrant to his adopted country.

14. Why is it important to discourage the use of such terms as "dago" and "wop"?

15. In what ways may the church cultivate an appreciative attitude toward the immigrant?

Chapter III

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT

The political, social, economic, and religious aspects of immigration will be considered, and the attitude of the church toward these factors will be suggested.

I. POLITICAL STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT

I. ADMISSION. Our immigration laws forbid the admission of those who are deemed unfit to become American citizens. The principal classes debarred are as follows:¹ those suffering from a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; insane persons, idiots and imbeciles; paupers, or those likely to become a public charge; anarchists; criminals; polygamists; prostitutes; contract laborers; and those unable to pass a literacy test in their own language. These regulations, added to the process of natural selection which leads only the more ambitious to emigrate, serve to keep out the less desirable of the foreign-born. But owing to the great numbers received daily in normal times, the examination at the port of entry is necessarily hasty and disqualifications are sometimes overlooked. It is especially difficult to detect the criminal, the immoral, and the mentally defective. Fraud is extensively practiced by the immi-

¹ *Immigration Law of 1917* (abridged).

grants themselves, the steamship companies, the labor agents, and the white slavers.

If the immigration laws were extended to provide for more thorough examination at the port of embarkation, many difficulties would be avoided. While those found to have entered unlawfully may be deported if discovered within five years, prevention is better than cure.

2. NATURALIZATION. The main requirements for naturalization¹ are five years successive residence in the United States, good moral character, ability to speak English, an elementary knowledge of United States government, the intention to reside permanently in this country, and the willingness to renounce allegiance to other foreign powers. Anarchists, polygamists and Orientals are denied citizenship.

To secure naturalization, the applicant, who must be over eighteen years of age, must first file a *declaration of intention*, or take out his "first papers," by applying to the clerk of a United States District Court or his own County Court and paying a fee of one dollar. Not less than two or more than seven years later, he must enter his *petition for naturalization*, or take out his "second papers," at one of the above courts with the fee of four dollars. Two witnesses who have known him for at least five years must appear with him at court twice, at an interval of ninety days, to testify to his moral character and length of residence in the United States. He is then examined as to his ability to speak English and his knowledge of United States government. If all requirements are satisfactorily met, he takes the oath of allegiance and is given a certificate of citizenship.

The requirements for naturalization are excellent, but

¹ *Naturalization Law of 1906* (abridged).

these complicated details of procedure are difficult for the immigrant to understand. Many are deterred from attempting to secure naturalization by the "red tape" involved, by the difficulty of securing acceptable witnesses, and by the expense incurred in the fees, the loss of two days' work, and the payment of the witnesses for their time. The process needs to be simplified.¹

3. THE IMMIGRANT IN POLITICS. It is frequently charged that the immigrant is the cause of much corruption in municipal politics. It is doubtless true that the newly naturalized citizen does not always vote wisely or independently, but the responsibility does not rest wholly upon his shoulders. The ward politician takes full advantage of the immigrant's ignorance, credulity, and economic necessity. In many places, where the foreign vote is the balance of power, its control is eagerly sought by the leaders of all parties. The immigrant in his bewilderment votes for the one that pays him the most, or promises him the best job.

The environment of the immigrant is not calculated to implant in him the finest ideals of municipal government. The evils of bad housing, poor streets, open vice, unjust and inefficient police protection, are ever before him as examples of ways in which the law may profitably be defied in America. He knows, from sad experience, the need of municipal reform, but he does not know how to vote in order to secure it. When we consider the ignorance of great numbers of native Americans regarding political issues, it is not surprising that the immigrant finds it difficult to adapt his Old World political creed to American conditions. We cannot expect him

¹ Abbott, Grace, *The Immigrant and the Community*, p. 251.

to vote intelligently unless we give him intelligent direction.

4. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS. With regard to the *admission* of foreigners the church should aim to develop a sane and sympathetic attitude which will favor the passage of laws ensuring further restriction of undesirables, without the exclusion of those who would make good citizens. We must be guided, in the policy we advocate, by the principle of mutual helpfulness between America and the world. The church should help to mediate between extremists who clamor either for absolute unrestricted admission.

When a foreigner for *naturalization*, the church has the responsibility. Public evening schools, by conducting citizenship classes of a sympathetic interest, to reach the immigrant and need this instruction. The church must encourage for American citizenship, and must see that the proper facilities are provided for satisfying the desire. When the time for the naturalization process comes, the representative of the church can render friendly assistance in helping the immigrant through the complicated legal procedure. Some form of public recognition, such as the citizenship reception, should be given the new Americans upon their attainment of citizenship; and they should be led to feel that this is an event of real significance in their lives.

While preparing the immigrant for naturalization, the church should instill in him the *political ideals* and the *social consciousness* which will enable him to vote intelligently. The church can aid the municipal govern-

ment, as well as the immigrant, if it will appeal to his intelligence and earnestness, and show him what the real issues are. For this purpose, the church should conduct forums for free expression, and should spread wholesome information through the foreign language press and circulars that the immigrants can read. Opportunity should be given them to unite directly through their own organizations in the work of civic reform. Intelligent and able leaders of their own races should be stimulated to direct these movements for civic progress, rather than coöperation *with* (not entirely *for*) the native-born. They will aid in building a better community.

II. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Several serious problems are connected with the life of the immigrant. Foremost among these are his relations to industry, poverty, and crime.

I. INDUSTRY. The contributions of the immigrant to American industry have been previously mentioned. However, questions are often raised as to whether the immigrant supplants the native-born workman to the disadvantage of the latter, and whether the immigrant is responsible for the evils of our present industrial system.

(a) *Supplanting of American Workman.* Immigrant labor predominates in the manufacturing industries. But the recent studies have found usually on the lowest wages and in occupations which require little skill. Native Americans predominate in occupations requiring skill and experience. The American workman

up in the industrial scale to leave the heavier, coarser work to the foreigner.

(b) *Low Wages.* It is often charged that immigrant labor keeps down the wages of American workmen, and doubtless this in some measure is true. However, the fault lies not entirely with the immigrant, but with the employer who exploits him for commercial gain, and with the consumer who buys "sweat-shop" goods for the sake of getting a bargain. Unskilled immigrant labor is sought by the employer for the reason that his necessitous condition and low standard of living make him willing to work for low wages; his inability to speak English and his Old World habits of subordination make him tractable; and his lack of permanent interest in his occupation and his indifference to labor organizations lead to ready acceptance of existing conditions. Industries dependent upon the labor of women and children gather around the mining centers, and they, too, are exploited for commercial gain.

(c) *Strikes.* It is an open question whether strikes are an advantage or a detriment to the country at-large, but in either case the foreigner is far less responsible for them than is generally supposed. Competition in the labor market on account of the presence of the immigrant has been a factor in causing American workmen to strike; but the immigrant himself lacks both the ability and the desire for organization, and does not usually favor striking except when incited by labor agitators.¹ However, he and his family often suffer the most severely from a prolonged strike.

(d) *Accidents.* It is often charged that the foreigner is responsible for the high percentage of accidents

¹ Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, p. 203.

in the industries where he is employed. It is true that he seems to have a monopoly on the dangerous occupations. However, we must face the fact that slight value is often placed on the life of a foreign-born employee. When he meets accident or death through his inability to understand directions given in English, or through the hazardous undertakings demanded by the foreman, or through the employer's failure to provide safety-appliance, the usual comment is, "Only a dago," and the accident is soon forgotten. If we will put the man first and production second, many accidents will be prevented.

(e) *The Attitude of the Church Toward Industrial Relationships.* The problems raised by the immigrant's relation to industry are largely matters of social justice. If we do not exclude the foreigner, we must give him a square deal after he arrives. The church must promote greater sympathy between the immigrant and the American workman, and between the immigrant and his employer. We must inculcate a universal spirit of brotherhood, and must aim to substitute coöperation for competition. We must help to raise the immigrant's standards, must see that he learns English, and must insist that his health and safety shall not be endangered for the sake of profit.

2. POVERTY. Before those likely to become a public charge were excluded by law, the European countries commonly sent over paupers and dependents for whom they did not wish to provide. Our present regulations have practically stopped the admission of such persons, but poverty is still common among our recently arrived immigrants. It may be measured statistically by enumerating charity seekers, or socially by observing the mode of living.

(a) *Charitable Assistance.* The economic effect of living in America is shown by the fact that while two-fifths of our charity seekers are immigrants, only one-tenth are the children of immigrants. Applications for charitable assistance are in most cases due to large families, insufficient wages, lack of employment, or the death or disability of the wage-earner. The family hardships are due to the neglect or bad habits of the bread-winner in less than one-fifth of the cases,—a lower proportion than among native Americans.¹ The immigrant generally hesitates to apply for aid within five years after arrival for fear of being deported as a public charge, and the number who apply after that time is not great. Though oppressed by the high cost of living, the immigrant usually makes a plucky fight against adversity.

(b) *Standard of Living.* The number who seek charitable aid is not a sufficient evidence of the extent of poverty among the foreign-born, for many manage to support themselves yet live close to the margin of existence. They must live where rents are low, and this leads to overcrowding and unsanitary housing conditions. The children are unable to receive the food, clothing, schooling, and medical attention which they need, while they soon fall a prey to child labor with its attendant evils. The mothers must often leave home to go to work, while the children look after themselves with the street as their only playground. This we call the foreigner's standard of living. We do well to condemn it, but in our condemnation we must remember that he does not live in such conditions of his own choice.

(c) *The Task of the Church in Removing Poverty.* It is not the business of the church to furnish charitable

¹ Haskin, F. J., *The Immigrant*, p. 196.

assistance to the poor. This is the duty of the State, and the church needs only to make sure that no one suffers from failure to receive it when it is necessary.

However, it is the duty of the church to help make the immigrant self-supporting. Through its influence upon industrial ideals, it should aim so to ameliorate conditions that insufficient wages, unemployment, and preventable casualties will cease to make charity necessary. Through the Goodwill Industries (to be discussed later in detail) poverty and its evils may be greatly reduced. The church can help to raise the immigrant's standard of living by pointing the way to better things, and by putting opportunities for better things within his reach. We must minister to his economic and social needs as well as to his spiritual life.

3. CRIME. Much hostility to the immigrant is based on the belief that he is responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime. However, the Immigration Commission discovered that this assumption is ungrounded, and that immigrants are rather less inclined toward criminality than are native Americans. But the children of immigrants commit crime more often than the children of natives, probably because of improper environmental influences, the tendency to defy parental authority, and the lack of restraining ideals. This suggests America's responsibility.

(a) *Nature of Offenses.* Although immigration does not materially affect the amount of crime, it does affect its character. While the native American leads in gainful offenses, the foreigner predominates in offenses of personal violence and those against the public safety. Many of the latter simply involve peddling without a license, due in many cases to ignorance of the city

ordinance. While seven-tenths of the crimes committed by native Americans are "major offenses," only six-tenths of those committed by aliens are so designated. The kind of crimes usually committed varies widely among the different races. This is due to diversity in social, environmental and racial characteristics which must be considered in the prevention of crime.

(b) *Prevention of Crime.* Everybody agrees that it is better, both ethically and economically, to prevent crime than to punish the criminal. How this is to be done is a difficult problem, but some steps are obvious in our task of dealing with the immigrant.

(1) *Exclusion of Criminals.* Greater watchfulness is needed. Fully as much care should be taken to prevent the smuggling of criminals and prostitutes as the smuggling of goods.

(2) *Removal of Causes.* This can only be effected by placing proper environmental influences about the immigrant and building in him the right ideals.

(3) *Instruction.* Many offenses committed by the immigrant arise from the fact that he is ignorant of the law, unfamiliar with American customs, or unable to understand the police. The need of instruction is obvious.

(4) *Justice.* Unfortunately, the immigrant very often fails to get justice in the courts, and the example thus set before him naturally tends to lower his respect for American law. The injustice which he suffers is due most frequently to his ignorance of English, the lack of honest and competent interpreters, the activity of "shyster"

lawyers, and race prejudice.¹ There is urgent need of public defenders, to take the places of those who prey upon the credulity of the immigrant, extract exorbitant fees, and do nothing to help him. We must cease to have "laws for the poor and lawyers for the rich."

(c) *The Task of the Church in Preventing Crime.* It is our duty to remove corrupting influences from the environment of the immigrant; to develop in him the sort of character that will resist temptation; to teach him our law and language; and to make sure that he gets justice in the courts. Our foreign language workers may assist in providing proper interpreters. We must have "missionary lawyers" from whom the immigrant may get intelligent and sympathetic assistance, whether he can pay for it or not. We must labor for a better administration of justice to do away with the present double standard which permits discrimination against the poor, and especially against the alien poor.

III. RELIGIOUS STATUS OF THE IMMIGRANT

I. PREVAILING RELIGIOUS STATUS. The vast majority of our immigrants are nominally either Catholics or Jews, although by no means all are loyal adherents to these faiths. In considering the European backgrounds, it was pointed out that these sects have not their former hold upon their constituency. In America this is still more true than in Europe. Through the industrial influences of this country, the new spirit of freedom and democracy, the new exactions made by churches not

¹ Abbott, Grace, *The Immigrant and the Community*, p. 124-137.

supported by the State, and the outcropping of old differences, thousands of immigrants are drifting away from all religious faith.¹ The Radical Socialist stands out in open hostility to religion and government as he has known them, and the widespread indifference to religion raises an even more serious problem than atheism and open hostility.

2. INFLUENCE OF IMMIGRANT CHURCHES. The foreign-born are encouraged by their religious leaders to settle in colonies of their own race, to maintain strict denominational lines, to send their children to parochial schools, and to be suspicious of anything that savors of Protestantism.² While these efforts to hold the loyalty of their people are doubtless actuated in many cases by sincere motives, the spiritual and social needs of the immigrant are not being adequately served.

3. THE POLICY OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH. The attitude of the Protestant churches toward our Catholic and Jewish immigration is a matter of great importance in view of the prevalence of these faiths. Only the most bigoted would say that any denomination should neglect to minister to the needs of the foreign-born because they are not of the same household of faith. But it is an open question whether an attempt should be made to proselyte those who are faithful to their own churches. We must not destroy their loyalty unless we are able to put a greater loyalty in its place. We must have a broad spirit of tolerance, but, on the other hand, "there is a breadth that becomes mere flatness."³ If their own churches are not giving them spiritual ideals, the Prot-

¹ Shriver, W. P., *Immigrant Forces*, p. 182.

² McClure, Archibald, *Leadership of the New America*, p. 303.

³ Shriver, W. P., *Immigrant Forces*, p. 180.

estant church must believe in itself enough to undertake the task.

Regarding the thousands who are drifting with no religious anchor, the task of the Protestant church is clear. It must show them a church with a vital social and spiritual message, and must seek to bring them into its fellowship as citizens in the Kingdom of God.

We have seen that in the many problems and difficulties raised by the presence of "the stranger within our gates," the immigrant, on the whole, is more sinned against than sinning. We have seen, too, that in the solution of these problems the church has a definite task to perform. The field is not entirely unoccupied by other agencies. Many are doing excellent work, and with them the church must not compete but coöperate, for effort is too precious to be wasted in overlapping. The church in harmony with these agencies must insist that social justice be established, and must minister to the manifold needs of the immigrant. But upon the church, above all other agencies, rests the task of inculcating the spirit of brotherhood, and of *spiritualizing the ideals* of the immigrant. The means by which these tasks may be accomplished will be considered in the following pages.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

1. State the principal requirements for admission. Do you think any changes should be made? If so, of what nature?
2. State the main requirements and mode of procedure in securing naturalization.
3. To what extent is the immigrant responsible for corrupt politics?
4. What service may be rendered by the church in regard to (a) naturalization; (b) clean politics?
5. Discuss the relation of the immigrant to the American workman.

6. What measures should be taken to reduce the high percentage of accidents in immigrant labor?

7. What can your church do to improve the industrial situation in your community?

8. What are the principal causes of poverty among the foreign-born?

9. Discuss the economic and social aspects of the immigrant's standard of living.

10. Do you agree with the statement that it is not the business of the church to furnish charitable assistance to the poor? Give reasons.

11. Compare the nature and extent of crime among immigrants with that among native Americans.

12. What measures for the prevention of crime should be taken (a) by the state; (b) by the church?

13. What religious conditions among the foreign-born furnish a special challenge to the Protestant church?

14. Give reasons for or against the view that the Protestant church should attempt to work among those who are loyal to another faith.

Chapter IV

TEACHING ENGLISH AND CITIZENSHIP

I. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

The activity of the church in its work with the immigrant must be conducted mainly along the lines of English and citizenship classes, social uplift, evangelism, and religious education. It is our task to serve and uplift the immigrant in every aspect of his life, and while the foremost task of the church is the imparting of spiritual ideals, we must not overlook the importance of helping him secure the means by which to grasp our message.

I. THE NEED OF TEACHING ENGLISH. The most direct and immediate need of the immigrant is the ability to speak and understand English. For industrial efficiency, for prevention of accidents, for protection against fraud and exploitation, for better knowledge of American customs, for appreciation of American ideals, for the ultimate well-being of all, whether foreign-born or native American, it is imperative that the language barrier be broken down. Without a common language there can be no real assimilation.

Assimilation is a term much used and little understood. Webster defines it as being the act or process of bringing to a likeness or conformity. No nation can thrive without like-mindedness among its people. Russia lacked this uniformity of thought, and went to pieces. Ger-

many tried to force conformity upon her people by bands of authority, and the bands broke. In America we must build a like-minded citizenry by common bodies of knowledge and common ideals, with a common language as the medium of communication.

2. RELATION TO OTHER AGENCIES. In recent years there has been great development in the nature and extent of classes in English and citizenship conducted by the public school systems, the industries, the Y. M. C. A., and various private organizations. Then why need the church enter the field?

The church must undertake its share in a nation-wide program of Americanization, for the other agencies are not wholly adequate to the task. The evening schools now being conducted reach only a comparatively small per cent of those who should be benefited. There are many communities with a foreign-born population of 1000 or more in which there is no Americanization agency at work. It is commonly observed that where public night schools are conducted, the attendance is usually low because both pupils and teachers are tired after a hard day's work. But a further reason for the low attendance lies in the fact that the public school system and other agencies frequently fail to furnish the dynamic which will stimulate the foreigner to attend. Unless some one takes a personal interest in him, printed advertisements are not likely to make him know or care very much about the school. Unless the teacher is sympathetic, patient, and dominated by a great desire to *serve*, rather than to draw his pay check, attendance cannot long be maintained. The church must furnish this sympathetic personal contact.

The church must supplement and coöperate with other agencies, but it has also a special task to perform. The

chief reason why the church must conduct classes in English and citizenship lies in the fact that it has a unique opportunity to emphasize the *religious* aspects of our civilization. Here we must interpret facts in the light of great ideals and inspire the foreigner to a high type of Christian faith and character.

3. THE AIM. The aim of church classes in English and citizenship must be: (1) to spiritualize the ideals of the immigrant and develop Christian character; (2) to inculcate the American spirit and loyalty to our institutions; (3) to increase his efficiency through a practical knowledge of our language and customs.

II. METHODS OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO THE FOREIGN-BORN

The methodology of teaching English to the adult immigrant has been quite generally overlooked in spite of the importance and difficulty of the task. For many years we insulted the intelligence of the foreigner by obliging him to learn to read, if at all, from primers intended for young children. "I see a cat. The cat is on the mat," etc., did not especially appeal to his interest. Recently numerous text-books have appeared, some of which are excellently adapted to the immigrant's interests, but there are surprisingly few which consistently follow the laws of thought involved in learning to speak a new language.

1. CLASSIFICATION OF METHODS. Practically all methods of learning foreign languages may be classified as direct, indirect, or a combination of the two.

(a) The *indirect* method, which involves much study of grammar and practice in translation, is the one which has been commonly followed in our high schools and

colleges until recently. It often succeeds in developing a good reading knowledge of the foreign language, but seldom gives the pupil the ability to speak it. Too much attention is given to the abstractions of grammar, the eye is trained to the exclusion of the ear, and the learning process is encumbered by the necessity of translating from one language into the other to get the idea, instead of making a direct association between the idea and the new language. The process is long and laborious.

(b) The *direct* method, on the other hand, aims to set the pupil to understanding and talking the new language immediately through direct connection of ideas with words and sentences in the new language. This is done in response to stimuli suggested by the teacher, mainly through the use of objects and dramatization. Only the language to be learned is used in the classroom, the work is largely oral, translation is eliminated, and grammar study (reduced to a minimum) is made to depend upon the context of the lesson.

The direct method is far superior to the indirect in any form of language instruction, and this is especially true in teaching English to foreigners. It affords the practical advantage of permitting people of various nationalities to be instructed in the same class, by a teacher who does not know their language. It teaches the foreigner to *talk* English rather than simply to read it, and if properly applied it immediately gives him something he can use in his daily life. This result is obtained through the fact that it is psychologically adapted to the laws of thought involved in the learning process. The little child learns, not by the use of grammar and dictionary, but by imitating the sounds which he hears and associating them with certain ideas. We must follow the natural

method if we are to be successful in teaching English to the foreign-born.

2. METHODS BASED ON THE DIRECT. Several language systems have been worked out in harmony with the principles of the direct method. These agree in general purpose but differ somewhat in the mode of approach. Foremost among these is the Gouin theme-series method, while others, such as the dramatic, the objective, the pictorial, the development, the conversation, the phonic, the text-book, and the laboratory methods, simply give emphasis to some particular aspect of the direct method.¹

The distinguishing feature of the *Gouin* method is its use of the theme, or series of connected sentences which note the various steps in the doing of a certain act; for example, "I go to the door; I turn the knob; I open the door," etc. The *dramatic* method is incorporated in the Gouin, in that the teacher acts out the processes noted in the theme and causes the pupils to do likewise. The *objective* method, on the other hand, begins by teaching the names of familiar objects without reference to action, as "This is my eye; This is my hand," etc. It depends principally on visualization. The *pictorial* method gives further opportunity for the visual transmission of thought by the use of pictures to represent things which cannot be brought into the classroom. The *development* method is used inductively to bring out a connected series of ideas by skillful questioning. The *conversation* method emphasizes the need of inducing the pupil to talk on matters of interest to him, and affords excellent oppor-

¹ For more detailed accounts of these methods, see: Goldberger, H. H., *Teaching English to the Foreign-Born*; Gouin, F., *The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages*; Mahoney and Herlihy, *First Steps in Americanization*; Mass. Dept. of University Extension, *Teacher's Handbook*, to accompany *Standard Lessons in English for America Citizenship*; Roberts, Peter, *English for Coming Americans, Teacher's Manual*.

tunity for the teaching of idioms. The *phonic* method aims to correct faulty pronunciation by the study of related sounds, and to furnish a key for the recognition of new words. The *text-book* method may be used successfully if the text material is properly constructed, and if the teacher insures an understanding of what is read by oral reproduction. The *laboratory* method is used to enlarge the immigrant's vision and vocabulary by taking the class on field-trips to points of interest.

All of the above methods, and others not designated, may be used effectively upon occasion. Good teaching cannot be done without a method, neither can it be done by adhering mechanically to any one method. The teacher should be ingenious enough to select what is best from every method and adapt it to the situation.

3. TEACHING BEGINNERS. The principal difficulties in our work with immigrants arise in connection with the teaching of beginners. Hence the following suggestions are made, based largely on the Gouin method.

(a) *Teaching Spoken English.* The ability to speak and understand English is the immigrant's primary need, and should be given more attention than either reading or writing.

(1) Use only English in the classroom, train the ear, and give much oral drill.

(2) Present the subject-matter of the lesson in a connected series of sentences bearing on a certain "theme." To avoid confusion use only short sentences, related by sequence of time, or cause and effect.

(3) Begin with the sentence rather than the separate word, for the sentence is the unit of thought. Word drill is helpful after the word

has been learned in its context, but the memorizing of vocabulary lists should not be required.

(4) Give special attention to the verb, for it is most frequently used and gives greatest difficulty. In reading charts, the verb should be placed to the left of the sentence for special drill.

(5) Convey the idea mainly through the use of dramatization, objects, and pictures. Action, gesture, and facial expression should be freely used. Do not be afraid of appearing ridiculous, for fun adds to the interest and good-will of the class. The objects in the room should be utilized, and the 5 and 10 cent stores furnish in miniature much valuable objective material. Blackboard sketches, and pictures which may be taken from magazines and mail-order catalogs, aid materially in transmitting the idea.

(6) Use principally objective language, i. e., that which can be dramatized or made intelligible through objective material. Teach subjective language incidentally through expressions of commendation or judgment. Avoid abstractions and figurative language, but teach the idioms commonly used.

(7) Avoid technical grammar, but teach correct usage through variations of the lesson material. Only the forms most frequently used should be taught, and these should be constantly drilled upon in conversation. The learning of abstract rules kills interest.

(8) Give phonic drill only in connection with the lesson material, and reserve this largely for individual instruction outside of class. Teach

correct pronunciation through imitation and correction of errors when made. However, perfect pronunciation can seldom, if ever, be acquired by the adult immigrant and should not be expected.

(9) Avoid confusing the pupil unnecessarily with homonyms (pair, pare, pear) and with incorrect expressions presented for revision. He is quite as likely to remember an erroneous meaning or form as the right one, and the impression made should be clear and accurate.

(10) Use much concert work at first, for this eliminates self-consciousness and encourages every pupil to talk. Aim to keep all the pupils busy and interested all the time.

(11) Introduce variety by the use of games which utilize the vocabulary that has been acquired. Encourage the pupils to dramatize, e. g., to conduct a conversation between salesman and customer.

(12) Base instruction on material drawn from the daily life of the immigrant, for he must get from the lesson something that he can use. Encourage the pupils to talk about their work, their social interests, and the "old country." A study of Old World backgrounds made by the teacher will aid greatly in establishing sympathetic interest.

(b) *Teaching Reading.* The teaching of reading should be kept subordinate to instruction in oral English, since the immigrant has less occasion to use it, but it should be closely correlated with oral practice. With beginners, the content should be entirely familiar before

reading is attempted, for otherwise the meaning will be misconstrued, and wrong impressions once made are hard to eradicate.

The conversation theme, after being thoroughly learned and practiced orally, should be carefully written on the blackboard and presented in print through reading charts or typewritten slips. The immigrant who is able to read and write his own language has little difficulty in reading English of which he has learned the content through oral drill. Illiterates must be taught to read in separate classes, and, although the process is much longer, the method is similar.

The *text-book*, if well-graded, connected in thought, and practical in content, may be advantageously used after a few lessons. The immigrant usually feels more interest in the course if he can have a book in his hands. However, the reading and conversation lessons should cover a common subject-matter, for it is better to deepen a few impressions than to give a smattering of many. The advance lesson should be orally developed and made familiar before being assigned for reading practice; and after being read a thorough understanding of it should be insured through oral reproductions and answers to questions based on the text. Silent reading, followed by oral expression, gives excellent practice in the most common form of reading. The mental apathy of the class which often results when a single pupil is reading aloud may be averted by requiring the pupils to question each other on the text, or to reproduce orally with books closed what another has read.

(c) *Teaching Writing*. Writing should be correlated with conversation and reading, but should be made subordinate to both. The ordinary environment of

the immigrant engaged in industry gives him little occasion to write except in his own language. But writing must not be overlooked, and the problems which arise are those of penmanship and correct expression.

Literate immigrants familiar with a script which differs from ours may best acquire skill in *penmanship* through copying familiar material, particularly that already developed in the conversation theme. It is very important to furnish correct and legible copies, and the teacher can well afford to give careful attention to his own handwriting. The illiterate should be taught individually to write their names and addresses plainly, and as much more as possible, but too much time should not be spent on writing to the exclusion of oral drill.

Correct expression in writing, as well as excellent ear training, may be secured through exercises in dictation. These should consist of familiar, but not memorized, material. Spelling should be taught in connection with the conversation lesson, and here again it is better to learn a few common words well than to attempt to cover too much ground. Written reproduction of known material and formation of original sentences illustrating familiar words give excellent practice in writing. But absolute correctness can not be expected, and if the immigrant conveys his idea in English that can be readily understood the teacher should not be over-particular. Constant nagging over trifles is fatal to success.

It must be remembered that practice in reading and writing afford a valuable asset in deepening the impression made by oral instruction. Some people are ear-minded, some are eye-minded, and some are motor-minded. Through a judicious combination of the three

modes of impression we must strive to make our instruction genuinely effective and *useful* to the immigrant.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. Discuss the importance of teaching English to the immigrant from the standpoint of (a) the immigrant himself; (b) industrial efficiency; (c) the public welfare.
2. What agencies in your community are conducting English and citizenship classes? Do they cover the whole field?
3. To what extent can your church coöperate with these agencies without duplicating their efforts?
4. Discuss the special function of church classes.
5. Why should not primary readers be used in teaching English to the adult immigrant?
6. Discuss the value of the indirect method of teaching languages.
7. What are the essential characteristics of the direct method? Discuss its advantages.
8. Mention several methods based on the direct and point out the advantages of each.
9. Prepare a series of connected sentences which you could use as a "theme" in teaching a class of beginners.
10. Make a list of the objects needed in teaching the above lesson. How could dramatization be introduced?
11. Practice teaching the lesson with a group of friends acting the part of immigrants.
12. Criticize your lesson in the light of the suggestions given in the text. What further suggestions would you make?
13. In what ways may a text-book be used to advantage in teaching reading? What dangers should be avoided?
14. Give suggestions regarding the aim and method of teaching writing.
15. Discuss the relative importance and proper sequence of teaching the immigrant to speak, to read, and to write English. How may they be correlated?

Chapter V

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICANIZATION COURSES

I. SUBJECT-MATTER TO BE INCLUDED

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. The material to be included in an Americanization course must be such that it will help him to become a more efficient and loyal American citizen. It must be practical, for no class, whatever the method employed, will make a strong appeal to the immigrant unless he feels that he is getting from it something that he can use. But it is our task likewise to inculcate the ideals that will develop greater patriotism and finer character.

The course must always be adapted to circumstances, but a definite plan is indispensable. The following suggestions for an elementary course are based on the syllabus published by the New York State Department of Education and revised by the United States Department of the Interior.

- (a) The citizen—how he lives.
 - (1) Food, (2) Clothing, (3) Water, (4) Fresh air, (5) Home, (6) Family.
- (b) The citizen's community—what it does for him.
 - (1) Fire protection and prevention, (2) Police protection, (3) Health protection and disease prevention, (4) Accident prevention, (5) Public schools, (6) Public libraries,

- (7) Public streets, (8) Post office, (9) Recreation.
- (c) The citizen's work—his relation to industry.
 - (1) How to secure work, (2) How to advance in one's work, (3) How to spend money wisely, (4) How to save one's money.
- (d) The citizen's country—the United States.
 - (1) Its present geography, (2) Its crises in history, (3) America's great men, (4) The American flag, (5) Holidays and national anniversaries.
- (e) Becoming a citizen—ideals of American citizenship.
 - (1) Advantages and responsibilities of American citizenship, (2) How to become a citizen, (3) The spirit of the American people.

In addition to the formal topics suggested by this outline, the teacher should constantly encourage the pupils to discuss in class matters of special interest to them. Conversation about social events and pleasures is not irrelevant, while if the teacher is sympathetic, and interested in *teaching immigrants* rather than in teaching something *to* immigrants, he has an opportunity through the English class to assist in settling many problems and difficulties.

2. CHURCH CLASSES. It is obvious that in many respects the class conducted by the church must deal with subject-matter similar to that of the public schools and other agencies. We cannot, as some have suggested, use the Bible as a text-book in English. That we need to teach the immigrant the Bible cannot be questioned, but

its phraseology is not adapted to the purpose of teaching English. It should be taught separately for its spiritual value by some one who is skillful in interpreting it and applying its principles to the life of the immigrant.

However, beyond all other agencies the church has the opportunity and responsibility of bringing before the immigrant in its classes the great principles set forth in the Bible. Both directly and indirectly we can shape our courses to develop the Christian virtues of "love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." We should teach him that right relations to his home, his community, his work, and his country are based not on selfish greed but on mutual helpfulness. We can well devote a special section of the course to the work of the church,—its purposes, the scope of its activity, the nature of its services, the meaning of its ritual, and the spirit for which it stands. Carefully avoiding the "holier than thou" attitude which is fatal to Christian work, we must show the immigrant what the church has to offer him and what it expects in return. We must not fail to bring before him through precept and example the vital message of Christ.

II. ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF CLASSES

I. SECURING ENROLLMENT. The immigrant cannot be expected to patronize the class unless it is forcefully brought to his attention. The church must attract primarily through personal contacts and sympathetic interest, but must not neglect to utilize all legitimate modes of advertising.¹

¹ Suggestions may be found in: N. Y. State Dept. of Education, *Community Organization and Program for Americanization Work*; U. S. Dept. of the Interior, *Standards and Methods in the Education of Immigrants*.

(a) A *survey* of the foreign-born in the community should be made. Where a church survey is not feasible, the records of the military, school, and industrial plant censuses may be utilized. The survey should be followed by an energetic publicity campaign.

(b) *Coöperation with existing agencies* should be promoted. The church labors under some disadvantages, for public agencies hesitate (often wisely) when asked to help advertise a sectarian activity. However, in many cases this objection may be overcome if the activity of the church is clearly recognized as a plan for community betterment rather than for denominational aggrandizement. Women's clubs, patriotic societies, civic associations, industrial organizations, and other agencies interested in Americanization may be induced to coöperate, but the church must be careful not to go beyond its legitimate sphere.

(c) *The coöperation of employers* should be secured, and where factory classes are being conducted successfully the church should not interfere, but should strive for a combination of effort. The church may often render its most valuable service in stimulating the employer to introduce factory classes, instead of conducting them itself. Otherwise, permission may be secured to advertise the church class by inserting information slips in the pay envelopes, and by holding "plant" meetings with short talks on evening school advantages. The Goodwill Industries afford an excellent opportunity for publicity.

(d) *The coöperation of the foreigners' societies* should be solicited, and committees of foreign leaders should be secured to assist in publicity and shaping of plans. The immigrant does not like to feel himself an

object of benevolence, but is willing to coöperate for mutual helpfulness.

(e) *Newspaper notices* should be placed both in the foreign language press and in the American papers. Greater success is ensured when a spirit of good will in other agencies prompts free advertising, but money judiciously spent in securing publicity is well invested.

(f) *Posters*, with striking and persuasive colored pictures, should be displayed, not only in the church, but if possible in other places frequented by the immigrant, such as factories, stores, street-cars, lodging places, immigrant banks, steamship agencies, employment agencies, etc.

(g) *Handbills and dodgers* in foreign languages should be freely distributed in alien sections. The members of Sunday school and industrial classes should be asked to take them home, and the Boy Scouts are usually willing to assist in distributing them.

(h) *Slides* advertising the school should be displayed in the movies conducted by the church, and if possible in the public moving picture theaters frequented by the foreign-born.

(i) *Personal contacts* established through the workers of the church form a most valuable means of securing attendance. Announcement should be made through the church services (especially the foreign language services if such are conducted) and this should be followed by personal interviews. Calling in the homes is helpful if the worker is tactful enough to guard against the appearance of intrusion.

(j) *Success in meeting the immigrant's needs* will cause a rapid increase in enrollment, for the best kind of advertising is that which each immigrant gives among

his friends when he has found something that pleases and helps him.

2. CLASSIFICATION. Proper grouping of pupils contributes greatly to the success of the class, for the immigrant soon becomes bored or discouraged if the work is too easy or too hard for him. Practical considerations, such as limitations of the available teaching force, or wide diversity of attainments in the number enrolled, may prevent an absolutely correct grouping, but the following principles will serve as a guide.

(a) *The relative ability to speak English* is the first test of classification and results usually in the formation of three groups.¹

(1) *Beginners' classes* composed of those who speak no English, or very little.

(2) *Intermediate classes* composed of pupils who speak some English quite well, or considerable English rather badly, to the extent that they can make themselves understood in English.

(3) *Advanced classes* composed of those who can carry on a conversation in English, and who wish to acquire fluency and perfection.

(b) *Previous education* should be considered, and the illiterates separated from those who can read and write in their own language.

(c) *Nationality* is an important basis of grouping in the beginners' classes because of strong racial prejudices brought from the old country. But racial separateness need not be maintained after the barrier begins to be broken down by the acquisition of a common language and democratic ideals.

¹ New York State Department of Education, *Organization of Schools in English for the Foreign-Born*, p. 9.

(d) *Sex* should be considered in classification, because the women respond better in classes where they are free from embarrassment, and where their particular interests may be discussed.

(e) *Age* and *mentality* may be used as bases of classification where the facilities are adequate for maintaining a considerable number of classes.

3. TEACHERS. It has been found to be more difficult to maintain attendance in evening school classes than to secure the enrollment. However, the secret of success lies in strong teaching.

(a) *Qualifications*. It may be difficult to secure an adequate supply of trained teachers, but the following qualifications are highly desirable:

(1) General teaching ability, training and experience.

(2) Training in methods of teaching immigrants.

(3) A sympathetic understanding of the immigrant's racial characteristics and problems.

(4) An attractive and forceful personality.

(5) A genuine desire to *serve*.

(b) *Available Supply*. Teachers with public school experience are generally best fitted and most available for this work. However, the social service workers of the church, with instruction in methods of teaching English, can generally do excellent work because of their ability to establish the friendly contacts which are essential. Volunteer workers with teaching experience and real ability can often be found among the church constituency who will gladly undertake the work because of its possibilities of service.

(c) *Training.* Several of the state departments of education and some of the church boards are conducting extension courses for the training of teachers in Americanization work. These are usually given by correspondence, or through summer conferences. Teachers employed in church classes should avail themselves of this instruction whenever possible. Otherwise, they should draw upon the local libraries and upon the material furnished by the United States Department of the Interior for instruction in the problems and methods of Americanization.

(d) *Compensation.* The teacher must not work primarily for his pay check, neither must he be expected to give his services wholly without pay. A better type of work is usually done when the remuneration is adequate, and it is good economy for the church to pay well to secure the right sort of a teacher for this important and difficult task. Yet the real compensation comes not in material terms, but in the opportunities for service which are offered. To refuse to undertake the task because of inadequate financial resources would mean the omission of much work for which there is a vital need.

III. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CLASSES FOR WOMEN

I. THE NEED OF SPECIAL CLASSES. At present the evening classes almost wholly fail to reach the women in the homes. The immigrant mothers are kept at home by family cares, by Old World traditions which forbid free association with men, and by distrust of their own ability to learn anything in school. As a result, they have slight contact with our language and institutions except through their children, and the latter soon develop

a feeling of superiority which undermines parental authority and respect. But since the home is of vital importance in the shaping of child life, it is highly essential for the sake of the children, as well as the mothers, that our language and mode of living be taught to the immigrant women.

The coming of national woman suffrage has added extensively to the number of immigrant women who are voters. This fact makes it imperative that the foreign-born women learn enough about American customs and ideals so that those who are naturalized citizens may vote intelligently. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that hitherto a foreign-born woman has automatically become a citizen upon the naturalization of her husband. The present movement to secure the separate naturalization of alien women is a highly commendable measure.

2. ORGANIZATION OF HOME CLASSES.

(a) *Home Visiting.* The instruction of mothers in the homes must be begun through individual visits prompted by friendly interest. The utmost tact is essential, for the immigrant resents intrusion as much as the native American does. It is not well to go without an invitation, but this can usually be arranged through the immigrants themselves if foreign-born representatives are asked to coöperate in the Americanization plans. When a foreign-speaking woman worker is available, she is welcomed more freely than an American woman. However, the visiting nurse or community worker has an excellent opportunity to suggest instruction in English in connection with errands on other business. In any case, it

is essential to establish a point of contact through the home interests of the immigrant woman, and make her feel that the visit is not prompted by curiosity or patronizing benevolence, but by genuine friendliness.¹

(b) *Mothers' Classes.* When a sufficient number of the immigrant mothers have become interested, it is well to form neighborhood groups which will meet for instruction and social intercourse at a convenient hour in some easily accessible place. The advantages of group teaching are conservation of time, multiplication of effort, the encouragement of numbers, freedom from embarrassment, the enthusiasm of concert work, the fact that difficult suggestions can be made without offense, and the possibility of seeing better models for imitation away from home.²

(1) *Place.* Classes may sometimes be held in the homes of the women. This promotes sociability, but it is seldom feasible because of lack of proper environment in which to teach cleanliness and American ways of living. The community house of the church, if located in the foreign section, affords an excellent meeting place because it can be made to serve as an attractive model in matters of housekeeping. Its use tends to draw the women closer to the church.

(2) *Time.* The mothers cannot be expected to attend classes held in the evening, because of family cares. The best time is usually in the early afternoon, before the older children return from school. The younger ones should be brought

¹ Winkler, Helen, *Council of Jewish Women—Americanization Program.*

² California Commission of Housing and Immigration, *A Manual for Home Teachers*, p. 11.

to the class and cared for in another room while the mothers are busy with the lesson. The church if possible should maintain a day nursery, but when this is not feasible older girls may generally be found who are glad to look after the babies as volunteer service.

(3) *Subject-Matter.* The material to be included in the lessons should have a direct bearing on the women's home interests. The care of the baby, cooking, sewing, shopping, sanitation, first aid, etc., should be taught for the practical suggestions they afford, as well as for instruction in English. Hence it is especially necessary to visualize and dramatize these lessons, and to teach by example as well as precept. Our American ideals and customs should be constantly, though often indirectly, imparted. The mothers should be led to feel that the public school system is not a necessary evil, but a valuable institution with which they can coöperate in the training of their children as American citizens.

We have seen that the church has a work to do in providing classes in English and citizenship for the immigrant. Some of the methods and underlying principles by which this may be done have been pointed out. These suggestions are not merely theoretical, but have been tested and found to work. However, it must be recognized that there is much truth in the old adage that "circumstances alter cases." It is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules that will cover every situation, and the course of the church in its Americanization work, as elsewhere, must be guided by consecrated common

sense. We must consider always how we may best serve the highest welfare of those to whom we minister. Thus only can we receive from the immigrant the contribution which he stands ready to give to the common weal, and thus only can we develop in the immigrant the higher values which make for loyal Americanism and Christian character.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER V

1. What do you consider the most important topics to be included in an Americanization course? Why are these important?

2. Compare the subject-matter of the church class with that of other agencies.

3. What methods of securing enrollment would be most feasible in your church?

4. With what outside agencies would it be possible to secure coöperation in your community?

5. What principles should determine the classification of pupils?

6. Compare the essential qualifications of the Americanization teacher with those of the Sunday school and the public school teacher.

7. What Americanization work is being done by your state department of education¹ and by your church board? (Write for literature.)

8. Do you think your church ought to pay its Americanization workers? Is lack of funds a sufficient reason for failure to establish classes?

9. Why is it necessary to conduct special classes for women?

10. If you were calling in the home of an immigrant, what would you attempt to talk about?

11. Would it be feasible for your church to establish a class for foreign-speaking women? If so, what would be the most suitable time and place?

12. In what respects would the subject-matter of such a class differ from that of the general class?

13. Summarize the most important principles and methods to be observed in conducting church Americanization classes.

¹ The name of the department dealing with Americanization varies in different states.

Chapter VI

RACIAL COÖPERATION AND INDUSTRIAL BROTHERHOOD

We have seen that the church in its Americanization work must undertake the task of breaking down the language barrier which separates the immigrant from his American neighbor. But is the American really his neighbor? Too often he is not. Too often a barrier of prejudice or superiority raised by the native-born stands in the way of any real Americanization of the immigrant. This barrier it is the task of the church to remove; and since industrial relationships undergird the life of the immigrant the church must not shun the task of putting the spirit of industrial coöperation in the place of the spirit of strife and separateness.

I. RACIAL COÖPERATION

I. THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD. This cannot be too often emphasized as a prime necessity in every aspect of Americanization work. The immigrant justly resents being treated as a problem or a curiosity. Unfortunately Americanization work has been taken up as a fad by many who have no genuine interest in the immigrant, and the result is an attitude of antagonism and suspicion. Many benevolent enterprises have come to naught because of failure to catch the immigrant's viewpoint. The

churches, like other social agencies, have sinned in this respect, and are frequently charged with doing welfare work *for* people who are not their neighbors. What is needed is less "slumming" and more "brothering."

The immigrant's hostility to Americanization efforts has been intensified by misguided efforts to blot out, or at least to overshadow, the Old World associations and racial heritage that he holds most dear. Loyalty to America does not require disloyalty to the land of one's birth, but in our zeal to Americanize we sometimes overlook the splendid racial ideals which dominate the immigrant. We must seek to foster all that is best in his old associations, and welcome gladly the contributions which he can make to the American spirit. Then our work will develop, as it should, "a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the common weal."¹

2. RACIAL COÖPERATION IN COMMUNITY PROGRAMS. This is essential if we are to be genuinely successful in our Americanization work. We must not impose our efforts upon the foreign-born, but must give them a share in both the shaping and the execution of plans. The more intelligent among them, and especially those who have been in this country for some time, are generally able and willing to assist in community programs, and their coöperation is indispensable in reaching their countrymen. All plans for Americanization are doomed to failure unless such contacts are established that the immigrant is willing to become Americanized.

Practical plans for racial coöperation on a large scale have been worked out successfully in some of our cities.

¹ Statement of Russell Sage Foundation.

In Chicago ¹ during the war the foreign-born were organized through representatives of their fraternal and social organizations, churches, foreign-language newspapers, and occupational interests. An inter-racial committee composed of a representative of each racial group (together with numerous sub-committees on churches, societies, publicity, speakers, professions, trades, etc.) managed all the patriotic campaigns among the foreign-born and served as a connecting link with the Americanization agencies.

In Syracuse the women of each nationality are organized into an auxiliary branch of the Americanization League, and their leaders coöperate with American women in assisting the immigrant women to adopt American standards.

The Y. W. C. A. ² has a staff of workers of different nationalities who through home visiting give assistance and protection to the newcomers, and through public addresses establish friendly contact with the various foreign societies.

The church is handicapped in that it lays itself open to the charge of proselyting as soon as it takes a conspicuous place in a community program of racial co-operation. However, this fact need not deter the church from working quietly but effectively in drawing together the various Americanization agencies and racial organizations. It must often be willing, without claiming the credit, to furnish the dynamic to put into action a community program and also the oil to keep it running smoothly. Racial prejudice is a factor which must be reckoned with, but the church by inculcating a kindly

¹ Streyckmans, F. J., "Securing Interest of and Coöperation with National and Local Racial Organizations," in *Proceedings of Americanization Conference*, 1919, p. 200.

² After-War Program of Y. W. C. A., Dept. of Work for Foreign-Born Women.

spirit can do much to break down this prejudice. Provided the church does not get officious and demand too much prominence for itself, it can promote and undergird an extensive program of community coöperation.

Where it is not feasible to undertake a community program as indicated above, the church can at least strengthen its local Americanization work by consulting with representatives of the various nationalities of its constituency. If they feel that they are an integral part of the work, they are usually quite willing to assist as volunteers in carrying out whatever plans are adopted.

II. PROMOTION OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION AND EFFICIENCY

I. INDUSTRIAL UNREST. The present industrial situation is one of the most serious problems which faces America; and in the strife between capital and labor which is evident on every hand the immigrant is a very important factor. Not only is the laboring class composed largely of the foreign-born, but their contributions to industry are so indispensable that there can be no proper adjustment of labor difficulties without taking them into consideration.

The cause of the present industrial ferment is found in the spirit of selfish greed and bitter competition which is prevalent in both capital and labor. The welfare of America demands that this spirit of strife be replaced by the spirit of coöperation and mutual helpfulness. For this reason, the church must not only preach the principles of brotherhood, but must urge the industries to adopt such programs as will place the highest welfare of men above the accumulation of fortunes. The responsibility for industrial Americanization rests largely with

the employer, for we cannot hope to lift the immigrant to finer ideals and a higher standard of living until he is given proper working conditions and a wage which will enable him to live in reasonable comfort. But the immigrant in receiving a higher wage must be expected in return to render a higher type of service. We must teach him not only how to use his wages wisely, but also how to be worthy of his hire. The church must help to bridge the chasm between employer and employee by instilling in both the spirit of service and brotherly love which, without restricting industrial production, will make industrial strife impossible.

2. THE FORD PLAN. The Ford Motor Company is a striking example of what can be done in promoting industrial good-will and mutual welfare without sacrificing economic efficiency. Through profit-sharing based upon fitness and need, and through educational work conducted by expert advisers who deal personally with the employees, the latter are given the opportunity for self-development and for coöperation in the success of the plant. The aims of this educational work might well be advocated by the church for incorporation in other factory programs. They are,¹ to improve a man's tastes and at the same time increase his earning power; to teach him to use his income in a constructive manner; to put him into right relations with his family, his community, and his employer; to give the man who is down and out a chance to come back; to encourage and prepare the foreigner to become a citizen. In keeping with these aims vocational classes are conducted with cultural emphasis, profit-sharing is made dependent on right habits, domestic difficulties are adjusted, an eight-hour

¹ Ford Motor Company, *The Ford Idea in Education*.

day and a minimum \$6.00 wage are accorded to all, ex-convicts are given a chance to reinstate themselves, and factory classes in English for the foreign-born are conducted. As a result of the spirit of good-will thus engendered, strikes are eliminated, the labor turnover greatly reduced, and the profits materially increased for both employer and employee. But the most significant result is seen in the adjustment of social relationships and the personal development of the men employed in the plant.

3. AN INDUSTRIAL AMERICANIZATION PROGRAM. The above program applies in general to all employees, whether foreign-born or native. In addition, the church must strive to induce employers to adopt a specific program of Americanization. It can be shown that Americanization is not only a social and patriotic duty, but that it pays economically in decreasing the number of accidents, time in giving orders, waste of material, cost of supervision, turnover of labor, and agitation by radical leaders.

A plant Americanization program¹ should include classes held during working hours and dealing with the vocabulary peculiar to the industry. A skilled Americanization executive should be employed to supervise the Americanization work of the plant. An accurate record of all foreign-born employees should be kept, and the reasons for labor turnover noted as a basis for the adjustment of unsatisfactory conditions. Since participation is essential to genuine interest, a plant committee of foreign-born workmen ought to be chosen by the men themselves to coöperate with the Americanization executive. In promotion, preference should be given to the men learning

¹ Lape, Esther E. *Americanization in Delaware*, p. 28.

English and preparing for citizenship. Right relations must be established between the employees and the foremen, since the immigrant's attitude toward the plant, and to a large extent toward America, is determined by the treatment accorded him by his "boss." Above all, the plant must exemplify in its attitude toward the employees the principles of democracy and social justice which underlie true Americanism and vital Christianity.

4. GOODWILL INDUSTRIES. The foregoing suggestions have dealt with the Americanization program which the church should advocate in regard to the general industrial situation. In a more direct way, the church is promoting industrial Americanization through the Goodwill Industries connected with some of its institutional churches.

Among the Goodwill Industries, Morgan Memorial ¹ in the south end of Boston is a notable example. This well-known institutional church largely owes its success to the far vision and rare ability of its superintendent, Dr. E. J. Helms, who has devoted his life to the working out of this practical plan for social uplift. The extensive industrial plant is only one aspect of a many-sided program of genuine service, of which the dominant objective is human salvage. "Not charity but a chance" is the slogan of the institution. Its policy rests on a thoroughly religious as well as business-like basis, and in the industries the saving of economic goods is made subordinate and contributory to the saving of human personality.

The plan of the Goodwill Industries is simple. They collect cast-off material of every description, give employment to many in repairing it, and sell it at low rates to

¹ Dorion, E. C. E., *The Redemption of the South End*.

those who need it. "Opportunity bags" and auto trucks are sent over a wide radius to gather in old clothing, old magazines, old furniture,—in fact, anything that one desires to give. This material is thoroughly disinfected, sorted, and made over if necessary under competent supervision. It is this repair work that constitutes the principal occupation of the industries, for employment is thus given to many who through misfortune or mistakes in life are unable to find work elsewhere. An employment bureau is conducted, whose object in most cases is not to give permanent employment, but to furnish suitable work and vocational instruction until sufficient moral stamina or enough skill in a trade is acquired to enable one to work successfully elsewhere. Women, as well as men, are given the chance to earn a decent living and to fit themselves for further usefulness. Printing, cobbling, carpentry, rug-making, dressmaking, and millinery are among the occupations available at Morgan Memorial. All the profits are paid back to the employees in wages, and good-will eliminates labor difficulties. Payment by piece-work stimulates effort and industry, but those physically incapable of earning a living wage are subsidized. The whole plan of the Goodwill Industries aims not to pauperize by indiscriminate charity, but to develop character and economic ability by helping people to help themselves. This object is carried out in the stores connected with the plant, at which nothing is given away but practically everything is sold at rates accessible to the most needy.

While the Goodwill Industries do not confine their services to immigrants, a large proportion of those to whom they minister are foreign-born. The immigrant who meets many rebuffs upon arrival and can get em-

ployment only in the lowest grades of unskilled labor, finds in the Goodwill Industries not only friendly treatment and economic assistance, but the opportunity to fit himself for skilled labor. A considerable number of foreign-speaking students preparing for Christian work among their own people have supported themselves while in school by part-time work in the Goodwill Industries. Immigrant women, as well as men, find opportunity for self-development. Racial discrimination is absolutely ruled out, and contact with those of other nationalities on a friendly basis serves to break down racial antagonisms. The whole attitude of the institutional church tends to develop in its foreign-born constituency a love for their common country and for the Christian ideals which they see put into practice.

5. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION. In addition to the instruction in trades given to adults through the Goodwill Industries, the church must make sure that industrial education is placed within reach of its boys and girls. Unless such instruction is provided by the public schools, the church should include in its program classes in cooking, sewing, millinery, gardening, basketry, carpentry, cobbling, tinkering, stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, etc. It should be recognized that true culture as well as industrial efficiency may be promoted through vocational instruction. The children of the foreign-born must look forward in most cases to following a trade by which to earn their living. Hence they should receive from the church not only vocational instruction, but vocational guidance and preparation for general efficiency. The principles which underlie right relations to one's work should be so instilled through these classes that they will

be carried through life as a stimulus to greater social usefulness.

6. FORUMS. The church can promote industrial co-operation and social justice by forums for the discussion of social and civic problems. Frank and open discussion under proper auspices is being recognized as a valuable aid in clearing away false conceptions of our government and the social order. The rising tide of discontent which finds expression in Bolshevism and Radical Socialism can be stayed only by the spread of ideas and ideals which will counteract these dangerous tendencies. The church should therefore provide opportunities for the would-be anarchist to explode his bombs in noisy but harmless fashion, and to listen in turn to statements of sane constructive policies. Radical Socialism must be transformed to Christian socialism through addresses presented by competent, open-minded speakers who will not antagonize their hearers by assuming superiority nor confuse them by talking above their heads. The church should put such forums on a religious basis, with Christian principles clearly exemplified, but any touch of obtrusive ecclesiasticism is fatal to success. A large part of this group is hostile to the church because they think, with some reason, that the church has been on the side of the capitalist rather than the laboring man. Christian people must not be too squeamish if in these forums they berate the church and applaud the prayers, for with many the forum is the only point of contact by which the church can reach them. We need not relax our own standards, but we must become all things to all men if we would by all means save some.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

1. Why is the immigrant often hostile to Americanization work? Is he justified in this attitude?

2. How may this hostility be overcome? Illustrate if possible by specific incidents.

3. To what extent is there racial coöperation in your community (a) among the immigrants themselves; (b) with the Americanization agencies?

4. What further plans for racial coöperation could be inaugurated? Mention leaders or organizations among the foreign-born whose assistance might be secured.

5. What do you consider the underlying cause of the present industrial unrest?

6. What do you think should be the attitude of the church toward capital and labor?

7. Discuss the social and educational aspects of the Ford plan. Mention other industries in which a similar policy is being pursued.

8. Discuss the value of industrial Americanization from the standpoint of (a) the employee; (b) the employer; (c) the consumer.

9. Outline the principal features of an industrial Americanization program.

10. Describe the work of the Goodwill Industries.

11. Discuss the value of industrial education. To what extent is it being given by the public schools or other agencies of your community?

12. Do you think the church ought to conduct forums? If so, of what nature?

Chapter VII

AGENCIES OF RACIAL PROGRESS

The church in its Americanization work has a sacred duty to perform. It must build in the immigrant the ideals which will make him a true citizen of America, and in a higher sense a citizen of the Kingdom of God. But the church must also make possible the realization of these ideals, and for this purpose a program of social uplift and racial progress is essential. We cannot hope to minister most effectively to the higher life of the immigrant while he is the victim of social injustice and economic distress. It is imperative that the environment of the immigrant be made wholesome and uplifting, not only as an aid to his physical well-being and happiness, but as an instrument in the realization of the higher values.

I. SOCIAL UPLIFT IN THE HOMES

We can hope for no thorough improvement in our social order until we make the homes of our land what they ought to be. Among these, the homes of the foreign-born are perhaps in greatest need of reconstruction. The low standard of living which is prevalent is due in part to insufficient incomes, but even more to lack of knowledge of proper home-making. It must be the task of the church to help the foreign-born to have better and happier homes.

I. HOME VISITING. The personal touch which comes from a friendly visit affords an invaluable opportunity to give tactful suggestions, helpful advice, and persuasion toward things American. Immigrant mothers do not like to be "investigated" any more than American women do, and the work should be done skillfully or not at all. However, if the visitor shows a friendly interest in the baby, or otherwise establishes a point of contact, they are usually glad to learn how to feed and clothe the children properly. They are not devoid of pride, and the commendation of the visitor affords an incentive to cleaning up their homes. They are usually eager to receive advice from some one, preferably of their own tongue, who has a sympathetic understanding of the bewildering problems which confront them in this new land. But their Old World customs, traditions, and religious beliefs must not be lightly disregarded. It is unwise and cruel to destroy the old before something better is put in its place, and complete reversal of thoughts and habits cannot be expected immediately. The home visitor must recognize that she has not a monopoly on everything worth knowing, for the immigrant woman can often teach her much about foreign cookery and lace-making which the wise American will do well to learn. These calls should bind the women closer to the church and enlist their sympathetic interest in the work of the Sunday school. The attendance of the children may often be made a point of contact. The calls should lead to the establishment of English classes (as previously indicated) in which practical instruction in home-making may be given.

A type of service which the church can render in conjunction with other charitable agencies is "case work." Cases of sickness, emergencies, economic distress, legal

tangles, etc., should be looked into and suffering alleviated. Frequently the greatest service is rendered by causing the proper authorities to care for the case, for the task of the church is not so much to give charity as to give a chance for right living.

2. **MOTHERS' MEETINGS.** In addition to classes for instruction in English, the church should provide immigrant mothers with the opportunity to get together for social intercourse and discussion of common interests. Care must be taken to make these meetings, not simply uplifting, but interesting and attractive from the mothers' viewpoint. Much well-intentioned entertaining has failed because too great formality, or intellectuality, has embarrassed the guests. However, by giving the mothers a large share in the planning it is possible to arrange programs on child welfare and kindred subjects which will instruct without detracting from the pleasure of the occasion. Such social gatherings serve to break down racial antagonisms and foster a kindly feeling toward the church.

3. **DAY NURSERIES.** Many of the immigrant mothers are taken out of their homes by the call of industry. The problem of how to care for the children of pre-school age is being solved in some churches by the day nursery. For a nominal sum the mothers may leave their babies during working hours to be cared for by a competent matron. The children receive nourishing food, plenty of sleep, and the chance to play in safety. A kindergarten for the older ones is usually maintained in connection with the nursery. The standard of cleanliness among the mothers is raised by the fact that no child is received unless his clothing and body are clean when he is brought to the nursery. The care accorded at the

nursery, as well as the instruction given the mothers, stimulates more careful home attention to the children's health and comfort.

The day nursery plan is being adopted in many places as a means of caring for the younger children while the parents are at church. Immigrant mothers, even more than American women, are prone to feel that they must stay at home on Sunday on account of the pressure of family cares. But if the younger children can be cared for during the service, there is less to prevent them from attending church.

II. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION

Public health in many respects is closely joined with the proper care of the home and family. The church must seek the fullest development of bodily vigor in its people, not only for the sake of the individual, but for the good of society. Here, as elsewhere in its program, it must not duplicate the work of other agencies, but must stimulate the public authorities to conscientious action and must supply whatever needed service other agencies fail to render.

1. VISITING NURSES are rendering valuable aid in teaching sanitation, checking disease, and connecting the immigrant with medical aid. This service may well be incorporated in the program of home visiting previously outlined. An especially important contribution rendered by the visiting nurse is the discovery and arresting of tuberculosis in its incipient stages.

2. CHILD WELFARE STATIONS are needed in order that immigrant mothers, unable to employ a physician, may secure advice as to the care of their sick children. Improper feeding and dosing with harmful nostrums have

taken many lives which might have been saved by a few simple instructions. A church can well afford to employ a skillful doctor, dentist, and oculist to give free clinics to its foreign constituency, if such service is not otherwise provided.

3. FEEDING HUNGRY SCHOOL CHILDREN is frequently a religious service, for malnutrition interferes with the general development of body, mind, and spirit. Wholesome lunches, when not available at the public schools, are being served in some churches at a low cost, free to those who cannot pay for them.

4. BATHS in the community house teach that cleanliness is next to godliness, and supply a comfort hard to obtain where housing conditions are deficient.

5. ENFORCEMENT OF HEALTH REGULATIONS. Many of our cities contain tenements and slum sections where housing regulations are violated and living conditions are unsanitary beyond measure. This is frequently due to the greed of landlords who do not want to incur the expense of remodeling the tenement or installing sanitary equipment. It is obviously the duty of Boards of Health, or other public officials, to remedy such conditions, but they sometimes need to be reminded of their duty. Care should also be taken to secure the proper enforcement of vaccination, quarantine, and fumigation regulations. It is the duty of the church to arouse public opinion to the importance of sanitary measures, and to insist that health regulations be everywhere enforced regardless of financial considerations.

6. HEALTH CAMPAIGNS are being effectively promoted by the church. "Better Babies" propaganda and "Swat the Fly" campaigns can be pushed zealously, and with as much success, among the foreign-born as among

native Americans. Through posters that tell a story, through talks that can be understood, through repeated warnings against the spread of contagion, the general standard of health and sanitation is being raised. Health education is proving a most effective means of improving the general tone of the home and the community.

III. RECREATION

It is impossible to preserve the moral and physical vigor without opportunities for wholesome recreation. Since the foreign-speaking districts are notably lacking in facilities for the right sort of play, the church must supply this deficiency.

1. PLAYGROUNDS. Street-land is usually the playground of the foreign child while out of school, and here juvenile delinquency is bred. "Shooting craps" for pennies and pillaging peddlers' carts are not heinous offenses in themselves, but they tend to form habits of gambling and thievery. If supervised playgrounds are not provided at public expense, proper facilities for play should be made accessible by the church.

2. FRESH AIR OUTINGS during the hot summer months bring happiness and strength to the children of the foreign districts. The church which provides a farm or camp to which to send its children and young people by groups during the vacation season renders a valuable service to body, mind, and spirit. The mothers, too, need a vacation occasionally, and provision should be made to give them an outing in the country away from family cares.

3. GYMNASIUM CLASSES AND ATHLETICS. The need of a properly equipped gymnasium is being increasingly recognized by the churches. Opportunities for whole-

some recreation accomplish more than many preachments in drawing young people away from dance halls, for no amount of berating the dance will be effectual until we are ready to put something in its place. Every normal boy or girl is interested in athletics, and frequently the gymnasium serves to bring the church in touch with those who would otherwise be outside the reach of its influence. The classes themselves if conducted by competent teachers not only develop strong bodies, but help to build strong characters. Clean sportsmanship and fair play can be fostered by athletics as by no other agency. Inter-church contests serve to develop loyalty to one's church and to the spirit for which it stands. In the gymnasium, not nationality but merit is the criterion of approval and all mingle together as Americans.

4. MOVING PICTURES are becoming everywhere the dominant form of diversion because of their inexpensiveness and accessibility. Unfortunately the pictures most commonly presented in the foreign districts appeal to the lower instincts and give abnormal conceptions of life. If the church is to counteract the degrading influence of such pictures, it must install movies of its own and show films so uplifting and attractive that the others will cease to be an attraction. This involves the long, slow process of influencing one's tastes to voluntarily choose the better, but it is possible thus to develop appreciation of good art as well as good morals.

5. SOCIAL GATHERINGS are essential to the program of any church, and are especially important among the foreign-born because of the need of stimulating good fellowship and brotherliness. The different racial groups should be encouraged to meet together and mingle with Americans on the common plane of comradeship and good

fun. It is not easy to make them forget racial antagonisms and feel at ease, but it can be accomplished by centering attention on something which can be enjoyed by all.

6. OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENTERTAINING FRIENDS should be made accessible at the church community house. Girls living in lodging houses or squalid homes often have no place except the street or the movies in which they may see their men friends. A proper place at the community house where they may receive callers goes far toward safeguarding their morals; while appreciation of the friendly attitude of the church serves to bind them more closely to its influences.

IV. ELIMINATION OF DESTRUCTIVE AGENCIES

I. DESTRUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS. One of the most obvious services to be included in a program of social uplift is the elimination of agencies which prey upon the immigrant. Destructive forces like the saloon, the house of prostitution, and the gambling den are ever on the alert to draw in the unwary immigrant; while the constructive forces, including even the churches, are too often content simply to let him go his way. The attitude of indifference to harmful institutions which prevails among very many good people is a serious menace to our country. To be sure, the saloon is no longer with us in open form, but this fact must not give us too much consolation, for the attitude of the brewers and other agents of commercialized vice proves that the battle is not yet won. The churches must be alert in securing proper legislation and law enforcement, and must also substitute a constructive counter-attraction for the saloon and other destructive institutions. The best substitute appears to be the com-

munity house, with opportunities for sociability and recreation which will be clean and uplifting, but not out of keeping with the immigrant's tastes. We must seek always to "overcome evil with good."

2. EXPLOITATION OF THE IMMIGRANT. Besides destructive agencies of a general nature, there are others which prey particularly upon the immigrant. These take numerous forms, but include primarily deception at arrival, fraudulent employment agencies, unsound banks, and unscrupulous lawyers and doctors.

(a) *Deception at arrival* is common because the immigrant's friends or relatives are frequently unable to meet him as expected. Drivers hang about the stations who, after promising to take the immigrant to his destination, often charge him an exorbitant fee and then deposit him far away from where he belongs. Other "runners" agree to furnish lodgings and then inveigle from him all his money. Women and girls who arrive alone are in still greater danger, but are being cared for to some extent through immigrant homes. The Y. M. C. A. and the Immigrants' Protective League have rendered valuable service in stopping corrupt practices and in assisting the immigrant upon arrival. It is the obvious duty of the church to coöperate in this work by maintaining representatives at the ports of entry and leading terminals, who will give the immigrant a friendly welcome and guard against his exploitation.

(b) *Fraudulent Employment Agencies.* The immigrant's first need upon arrival is to obtain work. If he applies at an employment agency, he usually is charged an exorbitant fee, or he fails to get the kind of work promised him, or he finds no work at all when he arrives at the destination indicated by the agency. The factories

also are sometimes guilty of this form of exploitation in compelling foreign-speaking workmen to pay for their jobs or for increases in wages. The church must endeavor to secure the prosecution of those who are guilty of such malpractices. It may often render valuable service through its own vocational bureau in helping the immigrant to get a suitable job. It should also promote the organization of state or city employment agencies, which would be connected with a national agency in such a way as to place the immigrants in the labor markets where they are most needed and in the kinds of work for which they are best fitted.¹

(c) *Unsound Banks.* Private banks are often established which loan money to the immigrant at exorbitant rates, or receive his money only to close up when a goodly amount has been accumulated. Immigrants patronize these banks extensively because they are usually conducted in the native tongue, and because they make a business of selling steamship tickets, procuring employment, and writing letters for the illiterate. Immigrant banks need not be abolished, but corrupt practices should be eliminated by their being placed on a sound basis under government regulation. The church can assist in securing such readjustment. It should likewise put the immigrant on his guard against the "loan shark," and should instruct him in the wise use of money and the proper placing of savings.

(d) *Judicial Injustice.* The immigrant very frequently fails to get justice in the courts, and the result is a contempt for American law which breeds anarchy. Our judicial machinery is cumbered by delay, court costs,

¹ Fulcher, G. M., "Americanization of the Immigrant in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, Nov., 1918.

and the expense of lawyers; and while the rich may surmount these difficulties the immigrant seldom has the money necessary to secure justice. Unscrupulous lawyers employ runners to hang about the courts soliciting law business from those accused of crime. Exorbitant fees are charged and alluring promises are given, but no service is rendered. Notaries public, because the office is different here from what it is in the Old World, also find opportunity to deceive the credulous immigrant. Court interpreters are often both inefficient and unscrupulous. These evils are being fought by the courts themselves, the probation officers, public defenders, immigration commissioners, and legal aid societies. With these agencies the church must coöperate in seeing that justice is rendered. It should inform the immigrants as to the real powers of lawyers and notaries, and should provide a capable and sympathetic lawyer to furnish free legal advice when needed by those unable to pay for it.

(e) *Unscrupulous doctors*, not all of whom are legally registered, have been found to advertise in the foreign language papers, promising cures upon payment of large sums of money. Every effort should be made to stop this form of exploitation through prosecution and revoking of licenses. The church through its program of public health may do much to counteract the influence of "quacks." Free medical aid should be furnished when necessary. However, the church should aim to give not charity, but instruction, social justice, and the chance to live amid right surroundings.

CONCLUSION

The program of the church for racial progress must aim to minister to every side of the immigrant's nature. Giving material aid, relieving bodily ills, supplying a right

environment—all are activities worth doing in themselves. But a deeper purpose must underlie our work. Social service cannot be fully successful unless through it we develop the higher spiritual values. Our ultimate goal must be the more abundant life which Christ came to bring to man. We must minister to the souls of men. We must seek to make them, not simply members of one church nor citizens of America, but members of the Church Universal and citizens of the Kingdom of God.

The activities of the church in its work with the immigrant are manifold. Little has been said of the distinctly religious aspects of the task, not because this phase of the problem lacks importance, but because it has been quite fully discussed by others. The program here outlined does not by any means exhaust the possibilities of education and social uplift which lie before the church. Nor is it claimed that every feature of this program is feasible in every community, for any effort must be adapted to local conditions. However, the fact that the larger part of this program is being actually worked at various institutional churches, shows that the church is capable of carrying through large undertakings. The church needs added financial resources and far vision to accomplish its task, but the real foundation of all our efforts must be the spirit of Christian brotherhood. When the Christian people of America fully catch the spirit of the Christ and follow His behest as He says, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," then the immigrant *problem* will cease to exist, for the stranger within our gates will have become our brother.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VII

1. Discuss the significance of the home to the social order. Trace its relation to the church, the school, and the state.

2. Discuss the opportunities and dangers of home visiting.
3. What sort of a program would be best adapted to a meeting of immigrant mothers? How would this differ from a program for American women?
4. Is there a day nursery in your church or community? If not, is one needed? How could the need be met?
5. What is being done to promote public health (a) by your community; (b) by your church? Suggest further plans.
6. Discuss the responsibility of the church in regard to recreation. What moral problems are involved?
7. What recreational facilities are within reach of the foreign-speaking people of your community? Are they adequate?
8. Discuss the value of church athletics.
9. In what ways can the stereopticon and moving pictures be used to cultivate moral and religious development?
10. Why should the church provide opportunities for social gatherings and for entertaining friends?
11. What are the principal destructive agencies which the churches of your community must combat?
12. Discuss the exploitation to which the immigrant is exposed (a) upon arrival; (b) in securing employment.
13. Discuss the function of the immigrant bank.
14. What can be done by the church to prevent exploitation by unscrupulous lawyers and doctors?
15. What do you consider the ultimate goal of the church in its program of Americanization?

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